



STAMP DUTIES.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 8. May, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

You have been informed before, that this is a branch of taxation which, including the cost of collection, not to mention the enormous expenses attending prosecutions and applications to the Stamp Office for redress of grievances; not to mention these, you know that this is a branch of taxation, amounting to the enormous sum of eight millions of pounds sterling a year, falling, as you will presently see, on the most meritorious part of the industrious classes. In the month of February I first brought this subject forward, but was induced to postpone it until after the passing of the Irish Bill. From the accounts which I have given you of the mass of matter brought before the House of Commons, and of the manner of proceeding as to that matter, you will easily perceive what difficulty one has to encounter in the bringing forward of any subject whatsoever. After being prevented from time to time from renewing this subject, I saw no prospect of ever being able to do it, except under circumstances, which, according to the rules of the House, would prevent me from having a reply. I am now about to give you an account of what took place on Friday, the 3. of May, when I brought forward my resolutions upon this subject. But, first

let me congratulate you on one very important achievement; namely, on the *abolition of stamps on receipts of all sums under five pounds*. This was proposed by the Minister himself, and was agreed to by the House last night. He is going to make other alterations also in these stamp duties; and, as the reporters seem not, all of them, to have clearly understood what he said upon this occasion, justice to him demands from me, that I state to you precisely what he did say. He has it in contemplation to bring in a bill for what he calls *consolidating* the stamp duties. Why he makes use of the word *consolidate*, I cannot imagine; but he clearly means to bring in a bill to alter the duties in some respect or other. I, understanding this to be the case, asked him, *whether it was his intention to make freehold property liable to the legacy and probate duty, in like manner as personal property now is*. His answer was: "*I do not mean to make freehold property liable to the legacy duty: I mean to make an alteration in the scale of the probate-duty.*" Whereupon I said, that I would bring in a bill for putting freehold property upon a level with personal property with regard to legacies and probates. This was all that was said upon the subject by Lord Althorp; and, therefore, the statement which I have seen, in one of the papers at least, about his declaring his intention to make freehold property *liable to the probate duty*, is certainly not correct: it was a matter that I necessarily paid the strictest attention to; and I cannot have made a mistake upon the point.

I shall now insert the whole of the resolution, as it was moved by me; and then I shall have to make some remarks upon what passed upon the occasion. I shall not take up your time with a report of my *speech*. The newspapers have done me great justice, as far as I have been able to look at them; and I am quite sure, that you will be ready to do me a great deal more

than justice. I have numbered the paragraphs from *one* to *eighteen*, in order that I may, if necessary, the more easily refer to them.

1. "RESOLVED. That an impost, which according to the letter of the law imposing it, is made to press with greater weight, on one man, or on one class of men, than on other men, or on another class of men, is, properly speaking, not a *tax*, but a confiscation, and the law imposing it is, if properly defined, a *penal law*, such as were the laws imposing double taxes on the Catholics of England, and on the Quakers of the United States of America; and that, when one part of the community is compelled to pay a tax, from which another part of that same community is wholly exempted, there is a clear and undeniable confiscation; and that, if such confiscation be inflicted without crime committed by, and proved upon, the party on whom it is inflicted, such confiscation is an act of tyranny.

2. "That, by the acts of Parliament passed on the 11. of July, 1815, being chapter 184 of the fifty-fifth of George the Third, and by the act passed on the 5. of August, 1822, being chapter 117 of the 3rd of George the Fourth, imposing certain duties on stamps, amounting annually, in the aggregate, to upwards of *seven millions* a year, the utmost care has been taken to exempt the nobility and great landed proprietors from bearing any but a very small share of the burden; and further to make the tax heavier and heavier, in proportion to the smallness of the amount of property on which it is levied; so that each tax goes on, pressing heavier and heavier, from the very rich down to the very poor, as will clearly appear by a reference to the letter of the said acts.

3. "That by the first of the said acts, various duties on legacies, and on property coming by intestate succession, are imposed applicable to different degrees of relationship between the legatees and the successors and the deceased, beginning

at *one per cent.*, and going on to *ten per cent.*; but that, from these duties all freehold property is wholly exempted, and, therefore, from this tax, which is, on an average, about three per cent. on all other property in the kingdom left by will, or coming by intestate succession, the estates of the nobility and landed gentry (including the advowsons and lay-tithes) are exempted, while the father, the mother, the child, of the fundholder, the tradesman, the farmer, or other person bequeathing personal property, has one per cent. to pay on the amount of the legacy or intestate succession, while a brother who has had a thousand pounds left him by a brother, has thirty pounds to pay on this duty, and while a distant relation of the deceased has, on a legacy of the same amount, to pay one hundred pounds.

4. "That, in regard to the probates of wills and letters of administration, if the deceased leave property above the value of twenty pounds, his successors have to pay a stamp duty of ten shillings: that is to say, at the rate of two pounds per cent. on the value of the property; but that, if the party dying leave by will any sum from thirty thousand to five hundred thousand pounds, the duty is only one pound ten shillings per cent.; and that, in this case again, all freehold property is exempted.

5. "That, in the case of conveyances of all sorts, the duty upon a thing of five pounds, or on anything under twenty pounds value is ten shillings, and the duty upon a thing of two hundred thousand pounds value, or any sum above that, is a thousand pounds; so that, in the latter case it may be less than ten shillings per cent. on the value of the thing conveyed, and in the former case, if of five pounds value, it is two hundred shillings per cent. on the value of the thing conveyed; and thus, in this case, the poor man pays twenty times as much tax as the rich man on precisely the same sort of property, and under the same act of Parliament: and that, as the act will show, the weight of the duty goes on

“ increasing from ten shillings per cent.
 “ to two hundred shillings per cent.,
 “ exactly in the proportion that the va-
 “ lue of the property becomes smaller
 “ and smaller in amount.

6. “ That in the case of leases of lands,
 “ tenements, &c., where the yearly rent
 “ is five pounds, the stamp-duty is one
 “ pound, or *twenty per cent.*; but
 “ where the yearly rent is a thousand
 “ pounds, or any sum above that, the
 “ stamp-duty is ten pounds, or *one per*
 “ *cent.*; and that tax goes on, from four
 “ hundred a year rental to five pounds
 “ a year rental, getting heavier and
 “ heavier, but increasing in the small
 “ rentals in a most disproportionate
 “ manner.

7. “ That in the case of mortgages,
 “ bonds, and securities of every descrip-
 “ tion, if the amount of the mortgage,
 “ for instance, be twenty-five pounds,
 “ the amount of the stamp is one
 “ pound, or *eighty shillings* per cent.;
 “ but if the amount of the mortgage be
 “ twenty thousand pounds, the amount
 “ of the stamp is twenty pounds, or two
 “ shillings per cent.; that, in this case,
 “ the poor man pays forty times as
 “ much tax as the rich man; and that
 “ the stamp is no more if the amount of
 “ the mortgage be one hundred thou-
 “ sand pounds; so that, in a case like
 “ this, the poor man pays two hundred
 “ times as much tax as the rich man:
 “ and that, in this case also, the tax goes
 “ on increasing in weight as the taxed
 “ person becomes poor.

8. “ That in the case of annuities, if the
 “ annuity be for ten pounds, or under,
 “ the amount of the stamp is one
 “ pound; and that, in due proportion,
 “ an annuity of two thousand pounds
 “ ought to pay a stamp-duty of two
 “ hundred pounds; but instead of that,
 “ it pays a stamp-duty of only twenty-
 “ five pounds; and if the annuity be
 “ for ten thousand pounds, or any greater
 “ amount, it still pays a stamp-duty
 “ of only twenty-five pounds; so that
 “ here the poor man pays forty or fifty
 “ times as much tax as the rich man:
 “ and that, in this case also, the tax goes
 “ on getting heavier and heavier as the
 “ parties become more and more poor.

9. “ That, in the case of promissory
 “ notes and bills of exchange, not ex-
 “ ceeding two months after date, if the
 “ sum be forty shillings, or above forty
 “ shillings and not exceeding five pounds
 “ five shillings, the stamp is *one shil-*
 “ *ling*; and, in the same proportion,
 “ the stamp on three thousand pounds
 “ ought to be twenty-eight pounds
 “ eleven shillings; but that, it pays
 “ only fifteen shillings; and that for
 “ any higher sum the stamp is no more
 “ than one pound five shillings, instead
 “ of being, on ten thousand pounds,
 “ ninety-five pounds four shillings; and
 “ that, therefore, in the former case,
 “ while the poor man pays nearly *one*
 “ *pound per cent.*; the rich man pays
 “ *sixpence per cent.*; and, in the latter
 “ case, while the poor man pays nearly
 “ *one pound per cent.*, the rich man
 “ pays *threepence per cent.*; and that,
 “ therefore, in the first case, the poor
 “ man pays forty times as much as the
 “ rich man, and, in the latter case,
 “ nearly *eighty* times as much as the
 “ rich man: and here, as in all the
 “ former cases, the tax becomes heavier
 “ and heavier, as the tax-payer becomes
 “ poorer and poorer; and that, in bills
 “ of a longer date than two months, the
 “ partiality is still greater, and weighs
 “ still more heavily on the needy man.

10. “ That, in the case of insurance of
 “ lives, where the sum insured amounts
 “ to less than five hundred pounds, the
 “ stamp is one pound; that, if it
 “ amount to five hundred pounds, the
 “ stamp is two pounds: that, if it amount
 “ to five thousand pounds, or upwards,
 “ the stamp is five pounds; so that the
 “ man who insures ten thousand pounds
 “ pays only *one shilling per cent.*; while
 “ he who insures for less than five hun-
 “ dred pounds, and suppose that to be
 “ three hundred pounds, pays *six shil-*
 “ *lings and eight pence per cent.*; and
 “ thus the man of scanty means pays
 “ nearly seven times as much as the
 “ man of wealth.

11. “ That, in the case of receipts, if the
 “ sum be two pounds, the stamp is two-
 “ pence; if the sum be a thousand
 “ pounds, the stamp is ten shillings;
 “ when, in due proportion, it ought to

“be four pounds three shillings and fourpence, that thus the poor man pays more than eight times as much tax as the rich man; and if the sum go on increasing to a hundred thousand, or a million pounds, still the stamp is only ten shillings; and that for any sum expressed to be in full of all demands, whether it be for two pounds or a million, the stamp is always ten shillings; so that in this case it may be fairly said that the poor man pays a thousand times as much tax as the rich.

12. “That, in the case of appraisements not exceeding the value of fifty pounds in the value of the thing appraised, the stamp is two-and-sixpence; that, if the thing appraised exceeds five hundred pounds in value, though it amount to a million of money or more, the stamp is but one pound; so that here the tax falls almost wholly on persons in the middle rank of life, and the estates of the nobility and landed gentry are all nearly exempted: that an estate of the value of a hundred thousand pounds ought to pay an appraisal stamp of two hundred and fifty pounds, instead of the one pound which it now pays; so that here the people in the middle rank of life pay, in many cases, *two hundred and fifty times* as much as the rich.

13. “That, by the aforesaid act of the 55th George the Third, the duty on deeds as expressed by the act, limits its operation to deeds containing no more than 2,160 words; and the act provides that for every 1,080 words beyond that number there shall be a further duty of one pound; and no difference is made as to this further duty, be the amount of the thing conveyed what it may; so that, in this respect, an estate of the value of a hundred pounds pays as much duty as the estate of the value of a million of money; and that, it frequently happens that the deed conveying the small estate requires a greater number of words than the deed conveying the large estate.

14. “That with regard to apprentice-

ships, the parents of a poor boy, who give no premium at all with him, have two pounds to pay for the indentures and the counterpart; that in this case, however, where nobody but tradesmen are concerned, the stamp goes on gradually and fairly from thirty pounds to a thousand pounds, a premium under thirty pounds paying one pound stamp, and a thousand pounds paying sixty pounds stamp; because, in this case, the nobility, clergy, and landed gentry, are not concerned; and here we observe, that while the poor boy's parents are thus taxed, the duties on settlements made by the rich, pay only a twenty-five-shilling stamp on a thousand pounds.

15. “That, according to the aforesaid act, every transfer, assignment, disposition, assignation, or re-conveyance of any mortgage or wadset, had a duty imposed upon it, on a certain *ad valorem* scale; so that the transfer, disposition, or assignation, &c., paid the same *ad valorem* duty as was imposed on the original mortgage or wadset; but that, by the last of the aforementioned acts, viz.: chapter 117 of the 3d of Geo. Fourth, an alteration was made in this respect; and in such wise as to make the duty in all cases whatsoever *the same sum*, namely, one pound fifteen shillings; so that the stamp on the transfer of a mortgage of two hundred thousand pounds, or a million of money, has, since the year last-mentioned, been the same as on the transfer of a mortgage of no more than two hundred pounds; thus, compelling the tradesman, or other small proprietor, to pay just the same amount of duty on the transfer of his small mortgage, as is paid by the peer upon the transfer of a mortgage to the amount of hundreds of thousands of pounds.

16. “That there is a total exemption from this stamp-tax for all bonds, contracts, mortgages, conveyances, deeds, and instruments for making provision for building, repairing, or purchasing houses, and other buildings, for the beneficed clergy on their benefices.

17. " That by several acts of Parlia-
 " ment, ending with 55 Geo. III.,
 " chapter 142, which acts impose duties
 " on things sold by auction, a duty of
 " *sevenpence* in the pound is imposed,
 " in Great Britain, on the amount of
 " the sale of any interest in possession
 " or reversion, in any freehold, custom-
 " ary, copyhold, or leasehold lands,
 " tenements, houses, or hereditaments,
 " and on any share or shares in the
 " capital or joint-stock of any corpora-
 " tion or chartered company, and of any
 " annuities or sums of money charged
 " thereon, and of any ships and vessels,
 " and of any reversionary interest in the
 " public funds, or of any plate or jewels ;
 " but that, on all sales of furniture,
 " fixtures, pictures, books, horses, and
 " carriages, and all other goods and
 " chattels whatever, there is a duty of
 " *one shilling* in the pound ; while on
 " wool, sold for the benefit of the land-
 " owner or his tenant, or the first pur-
 " chasers, the duty is only *twopence* in
 " the pound ; and that from this duty
 " all sales of goods distrained for rent
 " or tithes, and all sales of leases of
 " lands or tenements, and all sales of
 " woods, coppices, cattle, live or dead
 " stock, and all unmanufactured pro-
 " duce of land, and of all produce of
 " mines, when the sales are made
 " on the lands or at the mines, are
 " wholly exempted, as well as all
 " the produce of quarries, or of im-
 " plements used in quarries, mines,
 " or farms ; and that thus, while every
 " product of the hand of man has to
 " bear this tax in almost a double de-
 " gree, compared with lands and tene-
 " ments themselves, the produce of the
 " land bears no part of this tax, which
 " is thus shifted from the shoulders of
 " the great and the rich, and made to
 " fall almost exclusively on the middle
 " and working classes of society.

18. " That this House will, with as
 " little delay as possible, make such an
 " alteration in the several acts, imposing
 " duties on stamps and on sales at
 " auction, as shall cause the peers,
 " nobles, baronets, and other great land-
 " owners, to pay, in proportion to the
 " amount of their property (subject to

" those duties), as great an amount in
 " those duties as is paid by the fund-
 " holders, annuitants, tradesmen, manu-
 " facturers, farmers, mechanics, and
 " the rest of the industrious classes of
 " the kingdom ; and as shall cause, in
 " all cases, the rich to pay the said
 " duties in the same proportion as the
 " poor."

To this statement no *answer* whatever
 was given. Mr. SPRING RICE, one of
 the Secretaries of the Treasury, was the
 person chosen to defend this system of
 taxation. He had two things to de-
 fend : first, the exemption of freehold
 property from the legacy and probate
 duty ; and, second, the *rates* on the
 scales of the other duties ; and, in the
 case of the auction duties, he had again
 to defend both exemptions and rates.
 Every one that heard him must have
 been convinced that he succeeded in no
 part of his undertaking. He did not
 dare say that the thing was right
 and just as it stood ; and my Lord AL-
 THORP, who said that Mr. RICE's was a
 triumphant answer, ought, to have been
 consistent, to have maintained the du-
 ties as they stood, instead of *being*
ready to announce his intention of
making alterations in them ! I will not
 avail myself of the advantages which
 this publication of mine affords me,
 to pay off the score run up, I, be-
 ing likely to have an opportunity of
 paying off that score when the parties
 are before me face to face. But, it is
 quite proper that I notice here the
 grand *diversion* which Mr. RICE made
 relative to a pamphlet of Mr. DUNN.
 His object was, to make the House be-
 lieve, that I had picked up all my
 knowledge of this subject from a little
 book, called the "*Remembrancer*," pub-
 lished by Mr. DUNN. If this had really
 been the case, and had Mr. DUNN in-
 structed me how to proceed, as an at-
 torney does an advocate, what had that
 to do with the matter ? That would not
 have altered the facts : that would not
 have made injustice justice. The truth
 is, however, that I never saw Mr.
 DUNN's book, until February last ; and,
 from the *Isle of Wight* to *Edinburgh*,
 those that have been indulgent enough

to listen to me, have heard me complaining of the gross injustice of these stamp and auction duties. Some time before the meeting of the Parliament, General COCKBURN published a letter in the *Morning Chronicle*, with his name at the bottom of it, in which letter he said, *that the new Parliament would be judged of by him, according to the manner in which it would deal with the probate duties*; and, it is now more than ten years since that gentleman showed me papers, which he had caused to be printed himself, stating the cruelties of those duties. Besides, the *fifteenth* paragraph of my resolution relates to a matter, contained in an act of Parliament, of which Mr. DUNN does not appear to have been at all aware; and, of this paragraph, Mr. SPRING RICE took not the smallest notice, though it relates to the most flagrant act of injustice contained in the whole series; and though it will be impossible for my Lord ALTHORP to retain his character, if he suffer this act of Parliament to remain upon the statute book, now that his attention has been drawn to it.

Mr. DUNN does not treat at all of the *auction-duties*, which are most monstrously oppressive, and not less monstrously partial; and Mr. SPRING RICE's answer with regard to which, was such as I will not attempt to characterize. My tongue itched to reply; but, I do not know, that it was injurious to my case, that I was not permitted to do it. The best reply is the alteration which Lord ALTHORP is making in these very bad acts of Parliament. The abolishing the duty upon all receipts on sums below five pounds is doing a great thing for the public. The town of HULL has recently petitioned for having that very thing done. It is done; and, what is very curious, Mr. SPRING RICE reproached me, on the 3. of May, for not knowing that there was a *bill upon the table*, to take off those stamp-duties, when it was only *last night*, the 7. of May, that the House came to a *resolution* to bring in a bill to take off those duties; when it ordered such a bill to be brought in by Mr. BERNAL, Lord

Viscount ALTHORP, and Mr. SPRING RICE. Yes, he really reproached me for want of diligence as a member of Parliament, in not knowing that there was that bill *upon the table*!

However, I will not proceed further with this matter; and I will leave you to determine, and leave the hundreds and thousands of persons who will be relieved by this measure, to ascribe it to whom you think it due, just observing, however, that it *made no part of the budget*. You will want nothing to instruct you to conclude that this is the best *reply* to Mr. SPRING RICE, who will receive other and further replies as my Lord ALTHORP proceeds in his "*consolidation*" of the stamp-duties. In short, these duties must be altered, and in a very considerable degree: they are the most sore and galling grievance which is felt by that prodigious number of industrious, careful, frugal, affectionate, and peaceable, families, whose hearts are kept in a continual ache by these unjust, these partial, these oppressive duties, on legacies and probates particularly, which cause them to be worried by commissioners, and to be surrounded by expensive appraisers and attornies, keeping them in constant fear and anxiety, and stripping them, in the end, of one half of their small and well-merited means. The country must be, and will be, delivered from this tantalizing scourge; and I desire that country to give its thanks *to you*, my sensible and public-spirited constituents; and to leave me wholly out of the question.

With regard to the conduct of the Ministers in this affair, they have done, as all Ministers have done, since I have known anything of them, given way with a bad grace. How much better would it have been to silence me at once by doing the just thing; by acknowledging that there was something wrong, and that they would put it to rights! This is the way that sensible men act. But, *power* is always apt to be headstrong; and never was power more headstrong than that in the hands of English Ministers. I have now given notice of a motion, to be made on the 21. of May, "*for leave to*

"bring in a Bill to alter and amend
"the Act 55 Geo. III. chap 148, as
"far as relates to duties on legacies ;
"and duties on probates of wills."

Now, I ought to have been spared this trouble; and the Minister ought to have spared himself the trouble of having to deal with this subject again in this sort of way. He is going to alter the scale of the probate duties. So far that is right; and it will be something for the people to be pleased with; but it is impossible that it can satisfy, if he do nothing more. However, I will not prejudge his doings in this way: nor, will I do anything for the purpose of creating embarrassment to him and his colleagues, notwithstanding any treatment that I may have received, or may yet receive, from them or any of their supporters. I know that such a mass of evil is not to be dissipated in an hour: an attempt to carry on the old system with the new Parliament must necessarily be attended with difficulties, such as no man can possibly describe. How many hundred times have I said, that I would rather now be compelled to earn my bread with a hoe or a spade, than attempt to carry on this system of taxation for one single month. Lord ALTHORP is a man of good sense; a man of great experience; all who know him say, that everything belonging to his private character is excellent; as to *love of gain*, the thing is almost physically impossible that that can be his motive: and, therefore, to me it is one of the most surprising things that my mind ever contemplated, that he should persevere in attempting to carry on this system. If, indeed, I saw a CANNING, a HUSKISSON, or some such *Parvenu*; some such political adventurer, to whom a scramble would be almost a matter of indifference; if I saw such an one seated where he sits, I should not deem it matter of surprise; but to see him worried by deputations, badgered by paragraphs, exposing himself to such loads of obloquy; and, after all, without the chance of eking out the system for more than a few months, is really a phenomenon quite sufficient to engage

the speculations of the profoundest of philosophers.

I here insert, from the votes of the House, the Stamp resolutions of which I have spoken above; and these resolutions, observe, were passed on the *seventh of May*. You will also observe, that the reduction of stamp-duties on receipts made no part of Lord ALTHORP'S budget.

STAMP DUTIES Acts, — Resolutions reported;

1. "That the Duty of Stamps
"now payable in Great Britain and
"Ireland respectively upon every
"Receipt or Discharge given for
"or upon the payment of any sum
"of money not amounting to 5*l.*,
"shall cease and determine."

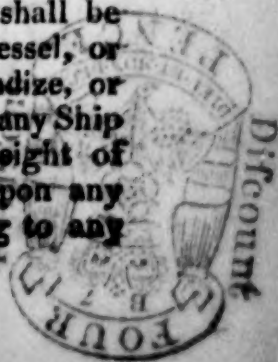
2. "That the Duties of Stamps
"now payable on any Advertise-
"ment, shall cease and determine;
"and that, in lieu thereof, there
"shall be charged upon every Ad-
"vertisement contained in any Ga-
"zette or other Newspaper, or con-
"tained in or published with any
"other Periodical Paper, or in or
"with any Pamphlet or Literary
"Work, s. d.

If printed and published in Great
Britain, a Duty of 1 6

If printed and published in Ire-
land, a Duty of 1 0

3. "That there shall be raised,
"levied, collected, and paid the
"several Duties of Stamps follow-
"ing, on the Sea Insurances here-
"inafter particularly mentioned, in
"lieu of those now payable on
"the like Insurances in Great
"Britain and Ireland respectively;
"that is to say,

Upon or in respect of every Po-
licy of Assurance or Insurance, or
other Instrument, by whatever
name the same shall be called,
whereby any Insurance shall be
made upon any Ship or Vessel, or
upon any goods, merchandize, or
other property, on board of any Ship
or Vessel, or upon the freight of
any Ship or Vessel, or upon any
other interest in or relating to any



Ship or Vessel which may lawfully be insured for or upon any voyage, other than a voyage from any port or place in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, or Sark, or the Isle of Man, to any other port or place in the said Kingdom or Islands, or Isle of Man :

Where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given or contracted for, shall not exceed the rate of fifteen shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall s. d.
not exceed 100*l.* 1 3

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100*l.*, then for every 100*l.*, and also for any fractional part of 100*l.* whereof the same shall consist.... 1 3

And where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given, or contracted for, shall exceed the rate of fifteen shillings *per centum*, and shall not exceed the rate of thirty shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall not exceed 100*l.* 2 6

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100*l.*, then for every 100*l.*, and also for any fractional part of 100*l.* whereof the same shall consist.. 2 6

And where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given, or contracted for, shall exceed the rate of thirty shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall not exceed 100*l.* 5 0

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100*l.*, then for every 100*l.*, and also for any fractional part of 100*l.*, whereof the same shall consist.... 5 0

But if the separate interests of two or more distinct persons shall be insured by one Policy or Instrument, then the said Duty of 1*s.* 3*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, or 5*s.*, as the case may re-

quire, shall be charged thereon, in respect of each and every fractional part of 100*l.*, as well as in respect of every full sum of 100*l.*, which shall be thereby insured upon any separate and distinct interest,

Upon or in respect of every Policy of Assurance or Insurance, or other Instrument, by whatever name the same shall be called, whereby any Insurance shall be made upon any Ship or Vessel, or upon the freight of any Ship or Vessel, or upon any other interest in or relating to any Ship or Vessel which may lawfully be insured for any certain term or period of time, the following rates or sums for every 100*l.*, and also for any fractional part of 100*l.*, whereof the same shall consist; that is to say,

Where any such Insurance shall be made for any term or period not exceeding three calendar months 2 6
— not exceeding six 5 0
— not exceeding nine 7 6
— not exceeding twelve 10 0

Resolution agreed to; Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bernal, Lord Viscount Althorp, and Mr. Rice.

You shall be informed of the committees which have now been appointed. I have told you before about the standing committee for the examining of petitions: and I have now to inform you of the appointment of five other committees, consisting each of about thirty persons. So that, if they be all sitting at once, here are a hundred and fifty of the members sitting on committees. These committees will make a report when they have examined witnesses upon the subject; each will make its own report; and will subjoin an account of the evidence which it receives, and on which it founds its report. When these reports are made it will be my business to look into them thoroughly; but, I am told that it is very likely that not one of them will make its report during the present session. However, if they do not make

their reports during the present session, I shall be able to discover how they are *going on*, particularly that with regard to agriculture, from which I expect some very entertaining matter. I insert here, before I make further remarks, the titles of the committees, and the names of the members composing them; and I beg you to look very well and attentively at all these names.

AGRICULTURE—Select Committee *appointed*, “to inquire into the *present state of Agriculture*, and *of persons employed in Agriculture in the United Kingdom* :”—Lord Viscount Althorp, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Littleton, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Lord Ormelie, Sir John Sebright, Mr. Alexander Baring, Mr. Dominick Browne, Sir John Dalrymple, Mr. Cayley, Sir Matthew Ridley, Sir Charles Lemon, Mr. Robert Clive, Mr. More O’Ferrall, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Ayshford Sanford, Mr. James Buller, Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, Mr. Matthias Attwood, Mr. John Benett, Mr. Paulet Mildmay, Lord Viscount Milton, Mr. Bethell, Mr. Gilbert Heathcote, Lord Viscount Howick, Mr. William Denison, Mr. Childers, Sir William Browne Folkes, Mr. Brigstock, Lord Henniker, Mr. Robarts, Earl of Kerry, Mr. John Murray, Mr. Stanley (Cheshire):—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND SHIPPING.—Select Committee *appointed*, “to inquire into the *present state of Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping*, in the *United Kingdom*, and to report *their opinions and observations thereupon from time to time to the House* :”—Lord Viscount Althorp, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Alexander Baring, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. George William Wood, Lord Viscount Lowther, Mr. James Oswald, Mr. James Morrison, Mr. Grote, Mr.

Abercromby, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Herries, Mr. Thomas Attwood, Mr. Lyall, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Ewart, Mr. O’Connell, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. John Parker, Mr. George F. Young, Mr. Charles Pelham, Mr. John Fielden, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Vernon Smith, Mr. Hyett, Mr. Warburton, Mr. George Robinson, Mr. Emmerson Tennent, Mr. Hedworth Lambton, Mr. Rawdon Briggs, Mr. Rumbold, Mr. John Abel Smith, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Christmas, Mr. Aaron Chapman, Mr. Alderman Thompson:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

ARMY AND NAVY APPOINTMENTS.—Select Committee *appointed*, “to *inquire into the establishment of the Garrisons*; into every branch *of pay and emolument of all General and Staff Officers in the Army both at home and abroad*; *and into the emoluments of Naval Officers holding the appointments of Vice and Rear Admirals of the United Kingdom, and of Generals and Colonels of Marines*; and to report their *opinion, whether any, or what reduction or alteration can be made in them, without detriment to the efficiency of the Public Service, or to the just reward of professional merit* :”—Lord Viscount Ebrington, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Mr. Ellice, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Williams Wynn, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Pendarves, Sir Ronald Ferguson, Mr. Hume, Sir Alexander Hope, Colonel Davies, Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fazakerly, Sir John Wrottesley, Colonel Maberly, the 10th O’Connor Don, Sir John Sebright, Sir John Byng, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Bohnam Carter, Mr. Carew, Mr. Strickland, Admiral Fleming, Mr. Morgan O’Connell, Mr. Richard Oswald, Mr. Hedworth Lambton:—Power to send for persons,

papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

IRISH VAGRANTS.—Select Committee appointed, “to take into consideration the Laws relative to the passing of poor persons born in Ireland to their own Country, with a view to the alteration and amendment of the said Laws, and to report their opinions thereupon to the House:” Mr. Robert Palmer, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Lamb, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Calvert, Sir Thomas Fremantle, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Greene, Lord Viscount Sandon, Mr. Alderman Wood, Lord Granville Somerset, Mr. Evelyn Denison, Colonel Wood, Mr. Methuen, Mr. Benett, Mr. Deans Dundas, Sir Gray Skipwith, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Walter, Mr. Slaney, Mr. Ewart, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Byng, Mr. Augustus Moreton —: Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

LAND REVENUES.—Select Committee appointed, “to inquire into the management of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, and to report how far the measures recommended by the Commissioners appointed under the Act 26 George 3, c. 87, have been carried into effect, and what other measures such Committee would recommend for further improving and rendering more productive the Hereditary Estates of the Crown:”— Lord Vict. Duncannon, Mr. Warre, Mr. Murray, Mr. Harvey, Lord Visct. Lowther, Mr. Ward, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Edward Bolton Clive, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Mr. Lambert, Mr. John H. Talbot, Mr. Petre, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Charles Buller, Lord Viscount Villiers, Mr. Hume, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Slaney, Lord Viscount Clements, Mr. William Ord, Colonel Leith Hay, Mr. Bingham Baring, Mr. Horatio Ross, Mr. Herries, Mr. Robert Gordon, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Madocks, Mr. Hyett:

—Power to send for persons, papers and records; Five to be the quorum.

You will understand, that these committees cannot make acts of Parliament; and can only offer their opinions, together with any reasons that they may happen to have to spare in support of those opinions. With regard to the witnesses, they are selected of course, and they come at the summons of the Speaker. We shall see who will be brought as witnesses in the case of agriculture, for instance, and we shall hear what these witnesses have to say. When the report is made to the House, the House can deal with it as it pleases: it can call in question the opinions of the committee: it can reject any recommendation that it may give; and, even while the committee is sitting, any member can call for an account of how it is getting on, and ask what sort of persons it is having brought before it as witnesses. So that no mischief can be done by these committees, unless the House were to neglect *its duty*; which is a thing that we are not to be permitted to suppose possible. These committees, when properly constituted (and we are to suppose [that] they are all so constituted), are very useful, because they can enter into inquiries which would be next to impossible to conduct in the House. They answer this purpose, too: they are ready to receive, and attend to, all the petitions that may be referred to them, relating to the several subjects, respectively; and, on the other hand, they can do no harm, if the House do its duty. If the members selected are deficient in point of knowledge or judgment as to the matter in question, there are the knowledge and judgment of the House to correct any errors into which they may have fallen; but then, it becomes the House to be extremely careful how it adopts the errors of a committee; instead of correcting those errors. If the committees do not make a proper selection of witnesses to bring before them, the House will be a judge of that; it will ransack the

whole of this matter ; and, after having fully discussed the proposition of the committee, and the evidence on which it is founded, it will be able to come to a right determination.

I have thus given you an account of these committees, which may be looked upon as so many sets of delegates appointed to prepare matter on which for the House to deliberate, and to come to a determination. But, there is one of these committees, that on the "*Land Revenues*," which is worthy of your particular attention; and of the attention of the whole kingdom. When Lord ALTHORP proposed the appointment of this committee on the 7th instant, he said, that *great exaggerations had gone abroad upon this subject*; and that this was one of his reasons for the appointing of this committee. Mr. HARVEY, the Member for *Colchester*, said, that these land revenues were worth fifteen millions of money. I have always put these revenues at more than three times that sum; and though it became Mr. HARVEY to speak greatly within compass, I am sure that my estimate will, in the end, be found to be correct; and within compass also. What I was principally anxious about as to this matter, was, that Mr. HARVEY should be a member of the committee. I found that this was so; and, indeed, common decency demanded this. Mr. HARVEY is a man of very great talent; and he has now the power of rendering the country a service, which it falls to the lot of few men to be able to render it. I am not to presume that there is any reason to suppose, that he will find any impediment raised up by his associates in the committee; but, if this were the case, there is still the *House* for him to appeal to.

Lord DUNCANNON, who is the surveyor, as it is called, of the estates of the crown, which are, in fact, now the estates of the people, said, as I understood him, that the proceeds of these estates had, in part at least, been lent to street-wideners and London beautifiers, and the like, for the purpose of making those "*waust improvements, ma'um*," that the Jewesses and their men so

much admire. Now, in the first place, all these "*waust improvements*" are a monstrous evil; and, in the next place, why were not these revenues applied to the supply of the place of some of the taxes. These revenues would supply the place of the whole of the assessed taxes, if they were properly brought to account. Mr. HUME put a very pertinent question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon this occasion; namely, "*whether the committee were to inquire into the affairs of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster*;" to which he received an answer in the *negative*! Why, take in these two Duchies, and here is revenue of three or four millions a year. The fact is, that the whole of this property ought to be brought to book by the House of Commons, as a lord's steward brings the whole of his estate to book. The House is the steward of the nation; and here is a prodigious estate which it ought to take into its hands, and manage it to as great advantage as it possibly can. The American Government has a great quantity of lands, part of which it occasionally sells; but the account is kept as regularly and as strictly, as if the lands belonged to a private estate. This estate is prodigious in magnitude; and, if the Ministers were wise, they would at once subject every part of it to a strict examination, and would bring every farthing of the proceeds to the credit of the people. What we have hitherto seen will appear to give us very little hope of a peaceable settlement of our embarrassed affairs; but, we are not to despair: a system like this is not to be changed in a day: the majorities of the Ministers appear to be astounding; but, it is impossible for a near observer of the scene not to perceive that those majorities are, in fact, worth very little to them. Those majorities may become minorities in consequence of some mere accident; for, the food that used to sustain everlasting majorities is growing scarcer and scarcer every day: the "*CRIB*," as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT used to call it, becomes daily more and more destitute of fodder. "Where the carcass is, there will be the eagles

"gathered together; but, if they gather together in expectation of a carcass and find none, they will very soon disperse.

It is right that I should put on record the names of the minority who voted for my motion, relative to the stamps and auctions, on the 3. of May; and the following is the list of that minority.

LIST OF THE MINORITY OF TWENTY-SIX

Who voted for Mr. Cobbett's motion upon the duties on stamps and auctions.

Attwood, T.
Blake, Martin
Cobbett, Wm.
Faithfull, G.
Fielden, John
Finn, Wm.
Fitzsimon, C.
Fryer, R.
Lalor, P.
Lowther, Colonel
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, J.
O'Connell, Maurice
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connell, Charles
Oswald, R.
Palmer, Gen.
Pease, Jos.
Richards, J.
Roche, Wm.
Ruthven, E.
Scholefield, J.
Torrens, Lieut-Col.
Vigors, R. A.
Warburton, Hen.

Tellers.

Hume, Joseph
O'Connor, Fergus.

There were about *two hundred and fifty* who voted on the other side; but, in justice to that majority it should be observed, that Mr. LENNARD, one of the members for MALDEN in Essex, said, that, in voting with the Ministers he begged to be understood as doing it in full confidence that they would make some *material alteration with regard*

to the duties in question; and, it is but fair to presume, that many other gentlemen who voted in the majority did so, entertaining the same expectations as those entertained by Mr. LENNARD. Besides, we ought always to bear in mind, that for an individual member of Parliament experiencing a defeat, by finding himself in a minority, is a mere trifle to him: it calls in question neither his judgment nor his popularity; but that it is far otherwise with regard to a *Ministry*, who, if defeated, are, in some measure, disgraced. Hence it is, that we often see them supported, in matters, with regard to which, their supporters themselves finally made them give way. And, thus it will happen in the present case. The thing is so flagrant; the partiality so shameful; the taxes are so cruel and so tormenting, that a rectifying must take place; and, if it has been made matter of so much public discussion and so much public interest, the fault is not mine. I should have preferred, and greatly preferred, a quiet memorial addressed to Lord ALTHORP himself: but, after the defiance hurled in our teeth by the SPEECH with which the Ministers chose to open the Reformed Parliament, it would have been meanness and baseness in me to approach them in the style of a *suppliant* in behalf of any part of the people.

And what was it that was proposed for the House to adopt? Here are the words.

"That this House will, with as little delay as possible, make such an alteration in the several acts, imposing duties on stamps and on sales at auctions, as shall cause the peers, nobles, baronets, and other great landowners to pay, in proportion to the amount of their property, as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the fundholders, annuitants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom; and as shall cause, in all cases, the rich to pay the said duties in the same proportion as the poor."

Could anything be more reasonable, anything more just? Yet I think less of

the majority and the minority than I did of those of Tuesday, the 26. of April. Here the thing may be put to rights; to put the vote of that Tuesday to rights will be a very difficult matter indeed; and of all the acts of the present Ministers that was certainly the most unwise.

THE HOUSE AND WINDOW TAXES.

(From the Times of the 7. instant.)

[From a Correspondent.]

At 8 o'clock last night a special meeting of the Central Committee of the united parishes of Westminster took place at the British Hotel, Cockspur-street, for the purpose of receiving a report from a deputation of their body, which had that afternoon had an interview with Lord Althorp to ascertain the precise nature and extent of his Lordship's proposed reduction of these taxes. The attendance was very numerous.

The chair was taken by Mr. WILD, who, after briefly stating the object for which they were convened, called their attention to the report.

A member of the deputation who had, to prevent all possible inaccuracy, taken notes during the interview, and who had explicitly avowed to his Lordship the object for which he took them, and his intention to give them the utmost possible publicity, gave the following details of the interview, which, it appears, lasted an hour and a quarter. He observed that the account he had to give was a very gloomy one. The deputation found his Lordship fully prepared to receive them, and on this occasion he was attended by Mr. Spring Rice; there was a number of prepared documents on the table, and from first to last his Lordship gave the most courteous attention to everything they said. After a few introductory remarks, the deputation explained to his Lordship the object the central committee had in view in sending them to wait on his Lordship. His Lordship, in reply, said that he was aware that what he stated in the House of Commons re-

specting the proposed relief with regard to the assessed taxes was not exactly comprehended by the public. He had, therefore, now come to the determination that the house-duty should be reduced one half on all houses which have shops attached to them. His Lordship then entered into a minute detail of the practical effect of his proposed reduction. He took 100 consecutive houses in Oxford-street, as many in the Strand, in Piccadilly, in Regent-street, and in St. James's-street, and 50 in Newgate-street, and 50 in Union-street, Southwark, and declared that, with the exception of Piccadilly and Union-street, Southwark, where there were a greater proportion of private houses intervening, the relief would amount to very nearly 50 per cent. With respect to the window tax, instead of remitting one-third as he had previously proposed, he should retain the whole.

The deputation expressed both surprise and regret at the latter part of this communication, and then put the following prepared question to his Lordship:—They were instructed to ask if the following trades and professions would not participate in the proposed relief as to the house duty,—namely, licensed victuallers, hotel and tavern keepers, schoolmasters and mistresses, apothecaries (with surgeries attached to their dwellings), solicitors (with attached offices), lodging-house keepers, tailors, wine and other merchants (having counting-houses attached), working-jewelers, and other artisans.

Lord ALTHORP replied, that certainly there would be no relief to any of the classes enumerated, excepting surgeons, law stationers, "&c." (his Lordship's own word), who had a shop attached, and who could make good a claim for exemption of three windows under the existing law. All who could establish this claim would be entitled to the reduction of one half of the house duty.

The deputation again called his Lordship's attention to the condition of the licensed victuallers, and asked him if they were to be excluded from the proposed relief.

His Lordship replied, that if any

further concession could, after mature consideration, be granted, their claim would certainly be a subject of consideration.

A long colloquy ensued on this topic, in the course of which Mr. Spring Rice stated that the pressure was not so great on hotel and tavern keepers as on other parts of the trading community.

One of the deputation informed his Lordship that it had been publicly stated papers were prepared at the Tax-office, for the purpose of being delivered to every householder, requiring him to make a return of his actual rent, and to furnish a duplicate of the last half-year's receipt for the payment of the same, with a view to the making a new assessment of the house duty generally, and fixing it at the actual rental.

Lord ALTHORP admitted that such a plan had been proposed, but had been abandoned, as it was considered it would prove very vexatious.

The deputation, generally, declared their complete concurrence in this part of his Lordship's statement.

His Lordship was afterwards told by the deputation that it had been reported that the assessed tax-office was determined to go on with surcharges for the house duty throughout the country. Although they were aware that his Lordship had no direct personal jurisdiction over that office, yet, as the Government received all the odium, it was desirable to know whether any steps were meant to be taken to prevent the continuation of these vexatious proceedings.

Lord ALTHORP said he could not put a "stopper" upon the Tax-office, but he had intimated in that quarter that it was not the wish of the Government that anything oppressive should be done in this way.

Mr. SPRING RICE followed, and stated that it was under consideration to increase the salaries of the surveyors, and to proportionately reduce their percentage, in order to prevent, as far as possible, any undue influence from operating in their minds.

A deputy remarked that there could be no doubt the per centage operated

as a very powerful incentive to corrupt practices in some instances. A fact had come within his own knowledge, and he was prepared, if called on, to give both name and place, where a lady residing a few miles out of town was called upon by the surveyor, in the temporary absence of her husband, whom he expressed a particular wish to see. He was requested to wait, as the gentleman was expected to be home almost immediately. He consented, and was ushered into the drawing-room, where he had not been long, before he artfully observed upon the pleasantness of the situation, and concluded by saying, "Dear me, ma'am, you no doubt pay a very high rental for this house; I should suppose so and so at the least?" The lady in her reply told him the real truth, and a few days afterwards the gentleman was rewarded for his wife's ingenuousness by a notice of surcharge.

Lord ALTHORP repeated his statement, that Government were not disposed to encourage anything like such conduct.

Lord ALTHORP afterwards stated, that in respect of the house tax, Government had come to a determination to remit one-third in favour of houses rated at less than 10*l.* per annum, and on houses rated from 10*l.* to 19*l.* they would grant a graduated scale of reduction, varying from 5*s.* in the pound to 1*s.* The number of housekeepers who would thus be more or less relieved was 215,233.

Mr. SPRING RICE called the deputation's attention to the fact that there were no less than 2,400,000 houses in Great Britain that were wholly exempt from this tax.

A long conversation followed, in the course of which strong declarations were made to his Lordship as to the certain dissatisfaction his proposed measures would produce.

Mr. POUNCEY begged to state, that although he was opposed to the committee by which he was deputed, on many points, yet a sense of duty, and a regard to truth, compelled him to assert that tradesmen of considerable wealth, of

long standing, of high character, and of quiet dispositions, were now resolved to resist these taxes by all legal means; that the time was fast approaching when a total repeal would not be considered as any concession, but as a matter wrung from his Lordship by the resistance that was manifested, and therefore would not allay the great irritation that existed: and that those who contended for the repeal were supported by a deep sense of the justice of the cause, and would not rest until they obtained success.

Mr. SOFFE also assured Lord Althorp that his fellow-deputies had not overrated the disappointment and excitement which prevailed in every city and town throughout the kingdom in consequence of the partial and very limited relief proposed by his Lordship.

Mr. ADCOCK addressed his Lordship on the same subject.

Lord ALTHORP heard these observations with his proverbially good temper, but declared at their conclusion that it was impossible for him to yield more than he had already done.

THE HOUSE AND WINDOW TAXES.

(From *Morning Herald*, 8. instant.)

A deputation from the standing Committee appointed to protect the rights of the licensed victuallers, as a body, yesterday had an interview, by appointment, with Lord ALTHORP, in Downing-street, for the purpose of urging upon his Lordship the clear and indefeasible claim they considered themselves to possess of being allowed to participate in any relief which he might give to shopkeepers generally.

The deputation consisted of Messrs. Larby, Vousley, Rockley, Watchorn, and Cliff, as members of the trade, and they were accompanied by Mr. Hawes (the Member for Lambeth), Mr. Sheriff Humphrey (the Member for Southwark), and by their professional adviser, Mr. Ald. Brown.

Lord ALTHORP received them with great courtesy.

Mr. SPRING RICE shortly after en-

tered the room, and took a part in the conversation.

The members of the deputation severally addressed his Lordship, and urged upon him that their houses were clearly houses of retail business, and that therefore they ought to be allowed to come in for an equal portion of any relief which might be given to other retailers.

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY and Mr. HAWES also addressed his Lordship, and strongly urged upon him the strict justice of their claim.

Lord ALTHORP observed that, if he gave the relief asked, the new beer house keepers would also expect to be included in the measure. Were this done, the loss to the revenue would be greater than Ministers could afford.

The deputation, in reply, called the attention of his Lordship to the great and serious loss that had been inflicted upon the licensed victuallers by the Act of the Legislature which established these beer-shops.

Mr. S. RICE admitted the full truth of this observation.

After a conversation which lasted about half an hour, Lord Althorp assured the deputation that he would take their case into his most serious consideration, and that as soon as he had come to a determination on the subject, he would communicate the result to them in writing, through the medium of their professional adviser, Mr. Alderman Brown.

The deputation thanked his Lordship for the frank and courteous reception he had given them, and retired.

The following additional particulars of what transpired at the interview between the Westminster Central Committee and Lord Althorp, on Monday last, is given on the authority of the correspondent from whom our former account was received:—

Towards the conclusion of the audience, and after the deputation had ascertained the precise extent of the now-intended remissions, the deputation told his Lordship in substance as follows:—

“That they felt convinced that the

country generally would be disappointed and dissatisfied with his plan. That many of those in whose favour a partial remission was extended would think its amount too small to be regarded as a boon, while others would complain at being excluded from its benefits. The country, they knew, had confidence in the integrity and sincerity of his Lordship's character, and, they individually believed, would be content with the retention of the whole of the assessed taxes for the present, if the finances of the country should render such retention absolutely expedient — provided his Lordship would come forward in his place in Parliament and distinctly pledge himself that they should be wholly abolished from the 10. of October next. They even believed that the public would go further, and be satisfied if they were clearly promised that they should cease on the 5. of April next year." His Lordship smiled, and said he could make no such promise.

At the special meeting of the committee, in the evening, to receive the report of the deputation, very general dissatisfaction was expressed at the result. One member declared that for his part, he was determined to pay no assessed taxes for the future; another stigmatized the plan as a "chandler's-shop" one; and it was finally agreed, on the motion of Mr. Charlwood, that an official report of what passed at the interview should be sent to each of the parishes within the city of Westminster

I HAVE received the following-mentioned petitions, which I endeavoured to present yesterday, but it did not come to my turn. The slavery affair and the Sabbath affair will soon be brought to a close; and, then we may find room and time for other matters. The slavery affair brought about two hundred petitions yesterday. And, I should inform my readers, that it will be impossible for the Parliament to comply with those petitions. They all contain a prayer for *immediate* and *total* abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

It will be Mr. STANLEY's office to bring in the intended bill, or measure; and he must be an envious man, indeed, who can envy Mr. STANLEY that office! This is a job which has been brought upon the Government by the canvassing and haranguing in the crack-skulled county of York, where Mr. MACAULAY made the people believe, that the blessings of the Reform Bill would render a reduction of taxes wholly unnecessary. However, this affair adds to the confusion that prevails; and to adopt a measure with regard to it, without producing enormous mischiefs in one way or another, appears to me to be absolutely impossible.

1. BURY, Lancashire: Prays for the repeal of the malt, hop, soap, sugar, and assessed, taxes.
2. BIRMINGHAM: Complains of the monstrous oppressions to which the industrious classes are subjected; sets forth the grievous wrongs that have, for many years, been inflicted on them; and prays that the House will grant speedy and effectual redress.
3. YARMOUTH: Complains of the oppressive weight of the taxes; and prays for the repeal of the malt, hop, soap, stamp and other taxes which press on the working people.
4. Holybourn, Hants: From the agricultural labourers: Prays for the repeal of the malt and hop taxes; and that no alteration may be made in the Beer Bill.
5. Woodchurch, Kent: Complains of the great alteration that has, within the last forty years, taken place in the well-being of the agricultural labourers, in consequence of heavy and oppressive taxation; and that, while the working man is starving, the pensioner, the sinecurist, and other tax eaters, are rolling in luxury.
6. HEBDEN-BRIDGE, Halifax: Prays for the repeal of the corn-laws.
7. Brewood, Staffordshire, against any alteration in the Beer Bill.
8. WINGHAM, Kent: Prays that the bill, now before the House, for the

better observance of the Sabbath, may not pass into a law.

9. Gravesend: Prays for an inquiry into the case of Richard Newsham.
10. Enniscarthy and Templeshannon: Sets forth that all the tumults, rebellion, and bloodshed, with which Ireland is, and has been afflicted, have arisen out of the existence of the Protestant established church in that country; and prays for the total abolition of tithes, and the appropriation of all church property to public purposes.
11. Wm. Whitehouse and Thos. Oxley, Clerkenwell: Against the Sabbath Bill.
12. Samuel Ward, Sezincot, Gloucestershire: Prays for the repeal of tax on spring-carts.
13. Samuel Hubbard, Gravesend: Complains of many acts of oppression and injustice committed by the corporation of that place; and prays the House to inquire into the same, and afford redress.
14. Robert Bradbury, Manchester: Complains of gross partiality in the stamp-laws; and prays that the House will make an equitable alteration in the same.
15. William Adam, Manchester: Prays for the impeachment of Lord Grey for introducing, and procuring to be passed, the Irish Coercion Bill.
16. John Halsall, Lea, Lancashire: Prays that the House will sanction no measure for granting political privileges to the Jews.
17. Washington Holt, Southwark: Complains of great injustice inflicted on him by the Commissioners of Excise; and prays that the House will afford him redress.
18. David Scott: Prays that the House will adopt a plan, named in his petition, for paying off the national debt.
19. John Nicholas, Coalbrookdale, Salop: Sets forth, that great demoralization has been produced amongst the labouring people by the imposition of the malt-tax, and prays for its total repeal.
20. Peter Gray, chairman of a society

at Liverpool: Prays for the insertion of certain clauses, named in the petition, in the Sabbath Bill.

21. John Fitzgerald: Complains of the improper conduct of certain Law Officers in Ireland; and prays for redress.
22. Christopher Rapier, Gateshead: Sets forth that great mischiefs would arise from the immediate abolition of slavery in the West Indies; and prays that the House will proceed carefully in any interference between the slaves and their owners.
23. CROWLEY Political Union: Complains of the increase of crime and misery arising out of excessive taxation; and prays that the crown and church property may be sold, and the proceeds equitably divided amongst the fundholders; and that the working classes may be no longer oppressed by the national debt.
24. Stoke-upon Trent: Complains of vexatious speculative surcharges; and prays the House to grant them redress.
25. Dartford Political Union: Prays for the repeal of the tax on newspapers.
26. Thomas Haughton, Belfast: Prays that an inquiry may be made into the state of Ireland, its resources, manufactures, &c.; and that such measures may be adopted as will relieve the distresses of the suffering people in that part of the kingdom.
27. Henstridge, Somersetshire: Complains of the great oppression of the assessed taxes, and of their inability to pay them; and prays that the House will pass an act for their total repeal, and that such act may be retrospective.
28. ROMSEY, Hants: Prays that the House will immediately discard the Sabbath Bill; and proceed to relieve the people by the repeal of burdensome taxation, and such other measures as are necessary for the amelioration of the present deep distress.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The High Bailiff of Westminster having appointed yesterday for the election of a member to serve in Parliament in the room of Sir John Hobhouse, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, several thousands of persons assembled at an early hour in the neighbourhood of Covent-garden, where, as usual, the hustings were erected. The usual accompaniments of a contested election were in plenty about the hustings. Lots of placards were exhibited, setting forth the merits of the different candidates; coalheavers hired for the day were in attendance, to emulate with their sweet voices the voices of those who might oppose their hirers; cabbages and turnip-tops, which a Westminster elector would consider it a breach of the liberty of the subject not to be allowed to use, were abundant, and none of the other noise, bustle, and confusion, incident to such a scene was wanted.

At half-past twelve o'clock Colonel Evans, accompanied by Mr. D. W. Harvey, M.P., Mr. Gillon, M.P., and several other gentlemen, appeared on the hustings, and were received with shouts of applause. Shortly afterwards Mr. Escott, accompanied by Mr. R. A. Dundas (formerly M.P. for Edinburgh), and other gentlemen, arrived. Their reception was very different from that of the gallant Colonel. They were assailed from all sides with groans and yells, and when these failed in driving them from the hustings, cabbages, and the other vegetable missiles, which the market liberally provided, were showered down upon the devoted heads of the Tories with radical enthusiasm. All this was taken in good part by the candidate and his friends, and the roughness of their reception was much mitigated, until Captain Dundas unadvisedly stuck one of Mr. Escott's canvassing cards in his hat, when the pelting was recommenced with renewed force; nor was it abated until he took the card from his hat and flung it among the crowd. Sir John Hobhouse and his party arrived soon afterwards; but, as they kept in the back part of the hustings, their arrival was scarcely noticed.

A large party of half-drunken ruffians, who exhibited Mr. Escott's cards in their hats, and who, Colonel Evans said, were in Tory pay, endeavoured several times during the day to get up boxing matches, but without success. The rest of the immense assemblage were comparatively peaceable, excepting sometimes when the Tories tempted them to make displays of their archery.

At one o'clock Mr. Smedley appeared on the hustings as Deputy for Mr. Morris, the High Bailiff and Returning-officer.

Mr. SMEDLEY stated, that in consequence of the unfortunate and unavoidable absence of the High Bailiff of Westminster, the duty devolved upon him of presiding over the election, and he begged the patience of the meeting while he read the precept and the Bribery Act,

and had the oath to act impartially administered to him. After that was done, the electors would nominate the candidates, and the candidates would afterwards have an opportunity of making a declaration of their political sentiments; and he had to ask for both proposers and candidates an impartial, orderly, and good-humoured hearing. (Cheers). It was only by a patient hearing that proper explanations could be given, or reasons assigned by, or on behalf of, the candidates. The electors of Westminster had stood pre-eminent in the country for their good conduct on such occasions, and he exhorted them to do nothing by which they might endanger their good character at the present election.

The precept was then read, and the oath administered in the usual form.

During the above ceremony, a coalheaver mounted one of the upright posts at the end of the hustings nearest to Colonel Evans and his Committee, and waved one of the gallant Colonel's placard boards in a triumphant manner; he was instantly assailed with all descriptions of vegetables, by a set of fellows on Mr. Escott's side, but he bore it all quietly, until he was removed by order of the presiding officer.

Mr. DEVEAR then presented himself for the purpose of nominating Sir John Cam Hobhouse, but not a word could be heard from that gentleman. He was received with the strongest marks of disapprobation, and pelted with stale cabbages and other refuse of the market.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE attempted to address the meeting, but was received with equal expressions of disapprobation. In seconding the nomination, he felt considerable pride since the recent nomination of the hon. Baronet. They had before them a Conservative, whose principles he did not exactly understand, but who he knew to be the rejected candidate for Worcestershire. That gentleman came before them with the repeal of the house and window taxes in his mouth, but did any one suppose that anything like retrenchment was to be expected from a Tory? The other candidate was his hon. and gallant friend, Col. Evans, who had been before them on a former occasion; and it was for the electors to decide between two reformers, the right hon. Baronet and the gallant Colonel. (A cry of "We'll have the Colonel"). For his (Mr. Duncombe's) part, he had seen nothing in the right hon. Baronet's conduct which could induce him to say he deserved a forfeiture of their confidence. (Loud groans). They already knew his past conduct, and he (Mr. Duncombe) was confident that they would ever find the right hon. Baronet, as he had always been, the friend of retrenchment, and of a cheap and liberal Government. (Groans and cheering).

Dr. BAINBRIDGE, in coming forward to nominate Colonel Evans, said the march of events had again brought together the electors of Westminster, for the purpose of choosing a

man who had not only the ability, but the moral courage and political integrity to speak the sentiments and the wishes, and defend the interests of that mighty and intellectual constituency in the Commons House of Parliament; and according to the manner in which they discharged that important duty, they would show to other constituencies, to the country at large, and to the Crown, whether they would, or they would not, henceforward be the contemptible tools of a party. (Cheers). When the Reform Bill was passed, and the representatives had been chosen under it were to speak the opinions of the people, their expectations were raised high—their hopes were most sanguine that there would be an immediate and sensible reduction of that load of taxation which cramped the energies of the country, and that wise and salutary laws, which should bring back happiness and prosperity to the people, should be passed. (Hear, hear). But what was their disappointment and vexation when they found their expectations answered by the atrocious Irish Coercive Bill only (great cheering), and the recent beautiful Budget. (Laughter, and cries of "Shame"). If they returned the right hon. Baronet again (cries of "No"), who had so recently refused or neglected to perform his duty to them, never let them again complain of taxation, for their inconsistency would be so disgraceful that they would merit all the burdens of taxation that could be devised. ("We won't, we won't"). There are many reasons which should weigh against the return of the right hon. Baronet. (A cry, "He has no honour"). Did they think that the army ought to be reduced? (Cries of "Yes"). Yet the right honourable Baronet brought forward his estimates for ten thousand more men than composed the army when the Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Government (Cries of "Shame, shame"). Did any of them think that the Constitution ought to be suspended in Ireland? (No, no). Yet the present Government, with whom the right hon. Baronet was identified, proposed a bill for that purpose, and dragoon officers now took the place of enlightened and constitutional judges and juries. The right honourable Baronet did not raise his voice against that encroachment of our liberties, but he supported it. Did they think that sinecures of any kind ought to exist? (No, no). Yet, on Mr. Hume's motion for the abolition of military sinecures, the right honourable Baronet voted against it, and thereby declared that military sinecures should continue. What had been his conduct on the motion of Mr. Grote for Vote by Ballot? He (Dr. Bainbridge) had heard the right honourable Baronet over and over again, at various public meetings, declare that bribery and intimidation at elections could only be destroyed by that species of voting, yet he found the right honourable Baronet in the majority against Mr. Grote's motion. (Cheers and groans). Did the electors think that the odious assessed taxes ought to be repealed?

(Loud cheers, and cries of "Yes, yes"). With regard to that question he was at first rather disposed to render the right honourable Baronet his meed of approbation for consistency in resigning his office when he found that he could not support his colleagues; but when he found the right hon. Baronet again introduced to the electors in order to be carried on their shoulders back to office (cries of "No!" and yes!")—the miserable and contemptible *ruse* was apparent to the most obtuse mind, not blinded by prejudices. (Cheers). They could now account for the refusal of their two representatives to give pledges on the hustings, when they found how their promises had been forfeited. (Cheers). He (Dr. Bainbridge) had great pleasure in proposing to the electors a gentleman of tried principles and of sterling talent; one whom he had had the honour of proposing on a former occasion, and in whose behalf he was most happy to appear again. He was sure that he would sedulously perform his duty to them—would carry into the House of Commons their opinions—and convey to the Government, in a powerful manner, their inability to pay so large an amount of fiscal exaction; and, above all, their determination not to pay the abominable and infamous house and window taxes. (Great cheering; and a cry of, "Nor any other tax"). If they wished the return of the Tories to power, they would vote for Lawyer Escott; if they meant to remain as they were (cries of "We won't"), they would vote for Sir J. C. Hobhouse; but if they wished to have their rights and liberties protected, they would vote for the gallant Colonel. (Great cheering). He concluded by nominating Lieutenant-Colonel Evans, amidst loud applause.

Mr. SIMPSON then came forward to second the nomination of Colonel Evans. Upon the last occasion he had had the honour of addressing the electors of Westminster from those hustings, he then stated that no servant could serve two masters. (Hear, hear). He remembered that, upon that occasion, a little knot of persons on the hustings took the liberty of denying that fact. Now, he would put it to the electors whether Sir J. C. Hobhouse had shown himself capable of serving two masters? (Cries of No, no! nor one properly). Upon the last occasion there were only two candidates; on the present there were three. One a Tory (loud hisses), of whom we need not say more, than that the Tory party had created that debt of eight hundred millions which the labouring classes had at the present moment to work like slaves to pay the interest of. (Hisses and cheers). The right hon. Baronet who had been proposed was a Whig; and if the meeting wished to know the opinion which that oracle (Sir F. Burdett) held concerning Whigs and Tories, he would tell them. He had stated that the two factions of Whigs and Tories were thieves, between which the constitution had been crucified. (Cheers and hisses). He agreed with the hon. Baronet in that state-

ment, and thought no person would deny that between those factions the constitution had been crucified. There was another candidate, Colonel Evans, who was neither of the Whig nor Tory faction. (Loud cheering). He was the friend of the people; had no interest separate from that of the people (loud cheering); had no connexion with families receiving pensions, but was a man determined to abolish them (cheers); and to meet Ministers face to face, and tell them that his constituents were determined, not only to obtain the repeal of the house taxes, but the whole of the house and window duties, and that however glad he should be to see an income tax proposed, he should consider it necessary to have the army reduced for the purpose of alleviating the burdens of the people. What had the hon. Baronet done with that immense establishment while it was in his hands? Why, he had had the liberality to reduce 100 men and 59 horses. (A loud laugh). He (Mr. S.) should consider the electors no better than 59 asses if they put up with such conduct. Of the merits of Colonel Evans it was not requisite for him to say more. He would, however, before concluding, thank the Tory candidate for drawing off those votes which had placed the gallant Colonel at the bottom of the poll at the last election, and would conclude by seconding the nomination.

Dr. GOLDING came forward to nominate Mr. Escott. The shouts, hisses, groans, and uproar, which resounded from all parts of the meeting, defy description. It was utterly impossible to catch one whole sentence of what he said. As far as we could understand, he said that he hoped that for the future the vulgar distinction between Whig and Tory would cease. Mr. Escott belonged to the extreme of neither party.

Mr. R. A. DUNDAS, in seconding the nomination, met with a similarly boisterous reception. He hoped they would do him the honour to hear him with patience, while he addressed a few words to them, in favour of his hon. friend. (Groans). The electors of that city had met for the purpose of choosing their representative in Parliament, and there never was a period when they were more called upon to exercise that privilege with discretion than the present. He could assure them, that Mr. Escott was a gentleman of high principle (groans), who was ready to undertake the office (yells), and was well worthy of their confidence. (A quantity of various kinds of vegetables having assailed the person of the hon. Gentleman at this period, he was forced to retire.)

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE then came forward in front of the hustings, and an immediate attack with cabbages and mud commenced, which, with a continued uproar, continued almost all the time the hon. Baronet continued on the hustings.

Colonel EVANS, after a short time, was allowed to beg a fair hearing for the honourable

Baronet. He said the object of their being there at that time was to hear why it was that the present vacancy had arisen. For God's sake, then, let them show themselves reasonable beings! It was most important that their late representative should be allowed to explain the cause of his late dereliction of duty.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE again attempted to speak, but he was again received with as much uproar as before. The only two sentences he was allowed to say, were—Is it your pleasure to hear me? If so, I will address you. It is not me you disgrace, but yourselves.

Mr. WAKLEY said, he attended there to oppose the hon. Baronet, but he was anxious to do so by fair means, not by foul. He required Sir John to answer questions which he intended to propose to him, which would be lost if they would not hear him. They had shown their great good judgment in execrating what they conceived to be his treachery or trickery, but they ought not to pass a final sentence upon him without hearing him. If they would not hear him, he for one would not attack a man who had been so ill used.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE again said—Is it your pleasure to hear me? If not, you disgrace yourselves, not me; I will make no more efforts.

The cabbages here came very thick upon him, when he said, he would not stand such treatment from persons who were not electors, any longer, and retired amidst much uproar.

Colonel EVANS then addressed the meeting. He said he was almost ashamed to ask a hearing from them, as they had refused to hear his opponent. He lamented, on account of the country, that they had done so, for he thought that the election did not involve the interests of the electors of Westminster alone, but also those of the whole country. Sir J. Hobhouse had come there to give some explanations which were important, and he regretted that the electors would not hear him. He (Col. Evans) had been on those hustings only a few months back, and had then troubled them with a very long speech, but he promised them, that on the present occasion, he would make but a very short one. Though, no doubt, the conduct of Sir J. Hobhouse had brought them together, still the one thing of paramount importance which really led to their meeting was the repeal of the house and window duties. Now on those questions an interview had been had with the Chancellor of the Exchequer only a few hours ago; he could not do better than comment a little upon the answers given to the deputation, who had asked whether a certain number of tradesmen, such as licensed victuallers, tailors, &c., were to have the advantage of the very small relief given to the tradesmen in these odious duties. The answer was, that neither of the trades or professions mentioned were to have the slightest exemption. What could be thought of that answer, when it was taken into consideration that the persons engaged in

those trades and employments in Westminster were more numerous than the inhabitants of a very large country town? (Cheers and groans). The Chancellor of the Exchequer reminded him of the tyrant Ferdinand of Spain, who once on a time published an amnesty to all the Radicals of that country, with the single exception of all those who had been opposed to his government. (Laughter). The noble Lord seemed to have copied him very closely in his plan of relief to the tradesmen. He might be considered as a very ignorant person, but he must acknowledge that he could comprehend neither the budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the resignation of their late representative. (Hear and a laugh). They had then three candidates before them—he had a great respect for principle of any sort, and might be allowed to say, that his respect extended itself to those professed by his other opponent, Mr. Escott, who he believed relied upon his high Toryism—that was all open, but he must say, he could not find anything approaching to principle in the conduct of Sir John Hobhouse. The pretensions of the candidates had been characterized in a very respectable paper, which differed much from the principles which guided him, in the following manner:—“The electors had to choose between Hobhouse and meanness and treachery—Evans, and insane radicalism—and Escott, and enlightened philanthropy.” He should like to know what motion had he made, or measure he had supported, that entitled him to be considered as having acted from insane violence. What was there in his then conduct that made him look like a maniac? The only reason for such an imputation was, that on a late occasion, while the present Ministry were nearly out, and the Reform Bill of course almost lost, he had used very strong language in their favour, thinking it was the only way to meet such a crisis, as there then was, for he was firmly of opinion that bad things not taken the turn they did, revolution would have been the consequence. The meeting might rest assured, that he would never again use strong language in favour of the same men. He defied them to state one principle which he now advocated, which had not been advocated formerly by Lord Althorp, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir John Hobhouse, and many other friends of the present Whig Administration. To be sure some of them had gone further in their principles than he had ventured to do, but further he knew no difference. He coincided in opinion also with Mr. Grote, who at the last election had polled the highest number (9,000) of voters of all the candidates, for the representatives of the city of London; he also agreed with those of Sir H. Parnell. In fact, he held the very same opinions as most of the present Ministry before they were in office. An anonymous advertisement had been published that day, dated Richardson’s Hotel, which referred to a paper that had emanated from his committee. This paper

stated that there had been as yet no proof that the resignation of Sir J. C. Hobhouse had been accepted, and that by chance he might still be the secretary for Ireland. He (Col. Evans) did not deny that the right hon. Baronet had resigned, and he hoped, for the honour of public men, that it might be so; but he would ask, had there been any statement from Sir J. C. Hobhouse denying that his resignation was not yet accepted? (Hear). The advertisement in question said, that the paper contained a falsehood, as Sir John Hobhouse had distinctly stated that his resignation had been accepted. But he (Colonel Evans) would ask where? Why did not he remove all doubt, by declaring the real state of the fact? He knew something of Richardson’s Hotel, and he thought that the words so often applied to a celebrated pillar in the city were equally applicable to it:—

“Where London’s column, pointing to the
skies,

Like a tall bully, lifts its head—and lies.”

(Hear).

No fact was more notorious than that no such statement had been made. If there had been a name to the advertisement, he would have applied the epithet “knave” to the person; but, as cowardice and knavery were generally allied, so it was in this case; for the writer had not dared to put his name to it. (Hear, hear). He would now come to a more important document. But he must first say that he was met, at six o’clock on Monday evening last, and told by a friend that Sir J. Hobhouse had resigned his situation and seat. But he thought his friend was trifling with him; for he could scarcely credit that such a circumstance should have occurred, until many other friends brought him the same version of the story; for, although he had heard of resignations of office by members, that they might do their duty to their constituents, he had never before heard of a resignation to avoid the performance of a duty. (Cheers). Next morning, however, came forth that to which he wished to direct the attention of the meeting—a short and pithy address, and a tender farewell from the honourable Baronet to his constituents. “Then,” said the gallant Colonel, “I thought there was a chance for me (a laugh): but, lo! within twenty-four hours the illustrious Mr. De Veau and other fast friends of Sir John set themselves hastily to work, in order to bring him in again, as if no tender farewell had been taken.” (Cheers). A meeting then took place, which was stated to be a meeting of the electors of Westminster, but which was not a meeting of electors, but was composed partly of some of the leading members of the Whig aristocracy, and reminded him of a recent attempt at Mary-bonne to put down the feeling of the people by the force of great names. It was stated at this meeting, that, if the electors of Westminster would come forward spontaneously, and restore Sir John to his seat, he would then, for-

sooth, do his duty. But it was also stated by some of his friends, that he was tired of public life, and that he was anxious to retire from the representation of Westminster (hear)—that he might have leisure to retire for a time into private life, and to travel for a few years. (Hear, hear). He (Colonel Evans) could not at first imagine what the meaning of all this was; but the whole was explained on the following Saturday. On the evening of that day a meeting was held at Richardson's, a report of which appeared in the *Observer* of the following morning, which undoubtedly they must all have seen. In case they had not however, seen it, it might be referred to by the electors who were not present on that occasion. It would be seen by that report that the constituency of Westminster did not come forward spontaneously at the call of the hon. Baronet's friends, and that it was stated by the right hon. Baronet's staunchest friends, that if they did not immediately exert themselves the election would be lost. (Hear, hear). What was the consequence? The consequence was, that notwithstanding the right honourable Baronet's anxiety for the delights of private life, and the relaxation of travel, he put forth what he called an explanatory address on Monday. (Hear, hear). The right hon. Baronet had said that he felt obliged to him (Colonel Evans) for endeavouring to obtain him a hearing from the electors; but he (Colonel Evans) suspected that in his heart he felt rather obliged to the electors for preventing him from offering any explanation; for the address put forth by him made confusion worse confounded. (Hear, hear). The address stated, "I resigned my seat, because I could not support the Ministers." That was a mistake, it should have been "his office." It must have been the mistake of a stupid printer's devil. (A laugh). It was a pity it should have been made, for it had caused much confusion. (Hear). He then says, "Had the simple question of the repeal of the house and window taxes been put before Parliament, I should without hesitation have voted in the affirmative." The simple question of the repeal of those taxes was put before Parliament. (Hear, hear). It was the amendment of Lord Althorp which he would not oppose (hear); and he therefore would not vote for the repeal of those taxes for which he had, in the previous evening, pledged himself to vote. (Cheers). He appeared to have weighed with himself to which party he should do his duty, and then, after some consideration, resolved, as he could not please both, to do his duty to neither. (Cheers). This conduct reminded him of the conduct of a debtor, who, being asked by his creditor to pay him his debts, said, "No, I shall pay you neither principal nor interest. It is my principle not to pay the interest, and it is my interest not to pay the principal." (A laugh). The right honourable Baronet then went on to say, that several calumnious persons had insinuated that he did

not mean to resign his secretaryship immediately; but he would inform them that he intended to do so immediately. Now he (Colonel Evans) did not know but that the hon. Baronet considered three weeks or a month immediate. He then said that he had been advised to go into the country to keep out of the way of the election; but the address was dated on the very same day, from Berkeley-square. (Hear, hear). He supposed, therefore, that the right honourable Baronet had remained there incog. He further says, "I was quite at liberty to return to office; but, had I done so, I should have told you of it." That might be true, but he did not add that he had left office, or that he should not return to it hereafter. (Hear, hear). The right honourable Baronet concluded by saying, "that he was totally unfettered by any engagements whatever." He (Colonel Evans) believed that to be a fact; for he had never seen conduct so unfettered by preamble as that of the right honourable Baronet during the past week. (Hear, hear, and a laugh). The whole was to him (Colonel Evans) an enigma, and he regretted sincerely that they had not allowed the right honourable Baronet to give the explanation, which, by-the-by, he seems not a little anxious to avoid. With regard to the other honourable candidate, he did not wish to say anything to deteriorate his merits in their eyes, but he could not help mentioning, that he had understood that he had stood lately for a county in the West of England, and there upheld the corn-laws, the tax upon bread, the landlords' taxes, &c. (Cheers). He concluded by saying, that if Sir J. Hobhouse would still give an explanation of his conduct which would be satisfactory to the electors, he (Colonel Evans) would retire from the contest. If such an explanation were given, he hoped that they would forget the right honourable Baronet's late extraordinary conduct and the folly of the Government. He felt convinced the electors of Westminster would maintain their former high character by their conduct upon that occasion. (Loud cheering).

Mr. ESCOTT, in coming forward to address the meeting, was immediately saluted with a discharge of cabbages, onions, and all kinds of filth, accompanied with an uproar which prevented the hon. Gentleman from proceeding.

While Mr. Escott was standing in front of the hustings, waiting till the storm should somewhat abate, Mr. E. J. STANLEY, M.P. for Cheshire, took that opportunity, as the gallant Colonel (Evans) had stated that Sir John Hobhouse had not yet resigned his office of Secretary of Ireland, of putting it to the gallant Colonel, as a man of honour, to say whether or not he believed Sir John Hobhouse had resigned, and that his resignation had been accepted?

Colonel EVANS: Gentlemen, a question has been put to me by a friend of Sir John Hobhouse, to know whether I, as a man of honour,

have any doubt as to the resignation, and the acceptance of that resignation, on the part of Sir John Cam Hobhouse? It is a very fair question to put to me, and as he happens to be an acquaintance of mine, and a member of the House of Commons, I firmly believe that he is perfectly convinced in his own mind that he has, or he would not have put the question to me. But with respect to myself, I have been so utterly confused, and so utterly unable to penetrate the mystery which hangs over this transaction, that I do declare, as a man of honour, I am unable to give a distinct answer as to my complete conviction one way or the other. (Loud cheering, and cries of bravo, bravo!)

Mr. ESCOTT again attempted to address those assembled. After stating that coming there as a candidate for the representation of that great city, he was desirous of stating the grounds on which he solicited their support, and what his objections were to the gentlemen who had appeared before them that day, and which he thought, under all the circumstances, they were not fit to represent the electors of Westminster in Parliament. (The cries of Off, off! Down, down! the shouting, the groaning, and yelling, became so overpowering, as completely to drown the candidate's voice, and he accordingly stopped.) This scene continued for upwards of half an hour. At length,

Mr. SMEDLEY, the Deputy Bailiff, put it to the meeting to say whether they would allow the proceedings to go on. If such conduct continued, he should be obliged to call in the civil force. This address, however, seemed to produce very little effect, the dirt, baskets, and pieces of tile, being poured in with increased violence. Mr. Macneil, the conservative candidate at the late Oxford election, endeavoured to obtain a hearing for Mr. Escott, but in vain. The riot continued to rage; the coalheavers for a short time obtained almost sole possession of the front of the hustings, distinguishing themselves by the number of the cabbages, basket-lids, mats, sacks, &c., they threw at Mr. Escott and his friends, and evidently, by the ferocity of their conduct, keeping all the respectable part of the crowd round the hustings in a state of alarm. After some time Mr. Wakley stepped forward, and was received with loud cheers. He entreated them, as they valued the cause of Radical reform—as they valued their own independence and respectability—to give the honourable candidate a hearing, or otherwise they should be unable to compare his sentiments with those of his rival. When Mr. Escott had concluded his address, he should have some questions to put to all the candidates.

Mr. ESCOTT then came forward. He knew that it had been said that he was unknown among the electors of Westminster, and that, therefore, he was an unfit person to come forward. It was true, he was not known among them; and he would ask how it was possible

he should be known if he were not heard. (Cheers and hisses) The electors of Westminster were called upon to decide the present contest, not by the promises which some men may have formerly given and basely broken (loud cheers), but by the public principle of those who put themselves forward, and upon those public principles it was to be a fair stand-up fight. (Cheers). He trusted that in the observations he should make he should pursue that gentlemanlike conduct which had been adopted by the gallant Colonel. (Cheers). The first thing he thought it right to consider with respect to standing for Westminster was, whether the two candidates in the field were such as, in his opinion, were best calculated to represent the electors in Parliament. (Cheers). With respect to Sir John Hobhouse (hisses), he must say but a few words, as he was absent. In his opinion, political honesty was above all consideration. (Great cheering). All party and politics, in his opinion, ought to be based on a fair conduct, such as would be approved of by fair and upright men. (Hear, hear, and cheering). Now, Sir John Hobhouse, though he may not be at the meeting at the present moment, had published a declaration in explanation of his former conduct. To that document he wished now to advert; and if Sir John Hobhouse could at any future time explain what he was now going to state, he would be the first to admit that he was in error, and that Sir John Hobhouse was right. He told the electors he had resigned his seat, because he could not support the Ministers: now he would tell that right hon. baronet, as the representative of the people, he was bound to retain that seat and oppose the Ministers. (Loud cheering). In his opinion of popular representation, the chief use of a House of Commons was to be a check upon a profligate government. (Cheers). Now he would say that the present Government was the most profligate that ever existed in this country. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no"). Sir J. Hobhouse, who had declared that he could not support Ministers, had, in his opinion, deserted his duty to the electors of Westminster by not retaining his seat and opposing them. (Hear, hear). The right hon. Baronet stated, as another reason, that he could not give a vote for the motion, which, though it was mixed up with the repeal of the house and window taxes, would, if carried, deprive the Minister of power; he had just before thought them unworthy of his support, and yet he wished not to drive them from power; he proceeded to say, that had the question been simply one for the repeal of those taxes, he should without hesitation have voted in the affirmative. His (Mr. Escott's) charge against the right honourable Baronet was, that the question was one, simply and solely, of repeal, as the electors would judge, for the motion was—"That it is expedient to grant relief to his Majesty's subjects, by repealing that portion of the assessed taxes charged on inhabited houses and on win-

dows." (Hear). Whether the right hon. Baronet had any mental reservation about uninhabited houses, he (Mr. Escott) could not say, but that was the simple motion, and yet the right honourable Baronet deserted his place in Parliament, and preferred serving the Ministers to serving his constituents. (Loud cries of "shame"). Now, a few words as to what that Government was for which the right honourable Baronet had deserted the electors rather than oppose it. That Government was popular some time ago, but popular because it held out promises which it had never since performed. (Cheers). It had promised to afford an extended protection to the liberties of the people, and to economise the public expenditure. The pledge which it gave to support the liberties of the people, had been redeemed by the most despotic law that was ever passed in this country, or that was ever introduced by the most Tory Government. How had it economised? Instead of doing so, it had from first to last added to the public expenditure; and when motions were brought forward to repeal distinct taxes, they were met by "Oh! you are too early; only wait till you see our excellent Budget; and then you will see what relief there will be from taxation. (Laughter). At last the Budget came, and the relief it afforded was about sixpence a hundred from tithes, and that the exciseman was permitted to go round to the market town in an untaxed cart. (Laughter, and cheers). Other motions, for the reduction of taxes, had subsequently been brought forward; but then the people and their representatives were told, "Oh! you are too late—our Budget is propounded—don't disturb the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget—don't disturb that honest and honourable man, Lord Althorp—though, by-the-by, that honest and honourable man, Lord Althorp, was twice flatly contradicted in the course of last week. (Laughter.) Such conduct was, in his (Mr. Escott's) mind, so atrocious, and so unlike that which ought to be adopted by fair and upright men, that he believed the time was come when those who would do any good for the country should take the matter into their own hands, and seriously consider all interests, with a view of getting relief from so overwhelming distress. (Cheers). It would not do to be trifled with any longer. (Cheers). He believed that a great deception had been practised respecting the motion as to the repeal of the house and window taxes. (A cry, "Will you vote for it"). He believed that the house and window taxes must be repealed; for it would be trifling with the people to let the pledge that had already been given by the House of Commons, prevail against the general desire to bring it forward again. He was prepared to declare that, in his opinion, those taxes must be repealed; and he, for one, would aid in obtaining that end. (Loud cheers). There was another extraordinary vote given by the Reformed Parliament—he alluded to the bill for regulating the labour in factories. That bill,

he thought, was called for by every feeling of humanity, and yet it was rejected by a majority of one. (Here there was a great noise in the crowd, who were apparently getting impatient). He only wished to say a few more words, as an honourable Gentleman wished to put a few questions to him, which, if proper, he would answer. (Groans and hisses). The electors would have a fair opportunity of considering those answers. (Loud cheer-). He would now tell them why he did not exactly approve of the political opinions of the honourable and gallant Colonel (Evans), and why he felt it his duty to come forward in opposition to so honest and independent a man. (Hear, hear). He thought the time had arrived when political agitation should cease, and when every means should be adopted to promote peaceful industry, social order and happiness; for political agitation had done its utmost to impede industry, and to work down the industrious classes. Whether the gallant Colonel entertained violent opinions, which were likely to impede such an useful work, he could not say, for he had not heard the gallant Colonel very clearly to day. The country had too long been disgusted with both parties; and they ought now to have a fair stand-up fight—not between Sir J. C. Hobhouse and the other candidates, because he had forfeited his engagement—but between the gallant Colonel and himself (Mr. E.) in aiding the country at the present emergency. (Loud applause). He was determined at all events to persevere with the contest to the last, and to give every elector who intended to honour him with a vote, a fair opportunity of recording it. (Cheers and hisses). The shortness of the period from the occurrence of the vacancy to the time of election, had prevented him from calling personally on the electors; but this he did not consider material, although customary. He would leave the meeting with the belief that he should have a majority of their suffrages, and a full determination, if successful in the contest, to do whatever was most likely to advance the interests of the country. (Much applause, mingled with hootings). He would repeat, that from what he had that day heard and seen, he was convinced he should be returned by a triumphant majority. (Applause and hootings).

Mr. WAKLEY called the attention of the meeting to what had been gained by silence; they had had a speech on his right hand and on his left, and the latter he should designate a basin of bubble and squeak. (Cheers). He intended to address the two candidates, and he hoped to obtain from them distinct answers to a few plain, honest, and straightforward questions. (Cheers). Without pledges he would not trust his own brother. (Cheers). The electors had had a practical commentary on the necessity of pledges; for when the necessity of the repeal of the house and window taxes were agitated a few weeks ago, Sir John Cam Hobhouse was applied to to express his

intentions on the subject, when he said "I will vote for their repeal." In 1819 he had declared at the election for the city of Westminster, that he would resign his seat whenever he was called upon to do so by a majority of his constituents. Here were two distinct pledges, and he would ask, had they been unnecessary for election? If after such conduct he was allowed to take refuge in the sea of parliamentary oil, wherein he slipped away from every grasp, it would be the electors who were the fools, and the hon. Baronet ought not to be blamed. (Cheers). He would now ask the gallant Colonel if he would vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act.

Colonel EVANS declared he would; and he subsequently declared, as the several questions were successively put by Mr. Wakley, that he would vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, and the corn-laws, and in favour of vote by ballot; each of which announcements was received with great satisfaction.

Mr. WAKLEY acknowledged the candour of the gallant Officer. He had been averse to the returning of any officer of the army or navy to Parliament; but he put more than ordinary faith in the gallant Colonel, and should give him his firmest support. (Cheers). He believed him in politics to be honest, and in his profession to be a skilful man; and as the Tories had their Wellington, he did not see why the Radicals should not have theirs. (Cheers). He did not see why they should not have also a Radical general in Parliament. If Government went on in the present way, they might, before long, have some red-coat business to do on their own account. (Vehement cheering). He would also ask the gallant Officer if he would resign his seat if called upon to do so by a majority of his constituents?

Colonel EVANS said he had expressed his intention to do so at a meeting he attended last night, and would repeat his determination to the meeting. (Cheers).

Mr. WAKLEY then put the first of these questions to Mr. Escott.

Mr. ESCOTT wished to put a question to the gallant Colonel—How he thought he could do his duty in a deliberative assembly after the pledges he had given? (Groans). He (Mr. Escott) had told them that on the house and window taxes he had made up his mind; but he would not tell them how he would vote upon the questions not yet discussed; but if he went into Parliament, he would exercise his best discretion. (Groans). The honourable elector had said that he could not conceive how there could be political honesty without pledges; but he would ask whether there had been grosser instances of political falsehood than where there had been pledges?

Colonel EVANS said that the hon. candidate had asked him whether he considered himself a free agent, and fit to go into a deliberate assembly, fettered as he was by pledges; but he (Mr. Escott) had deprived himself of the

power of impugning the practice of pledges, because, in a printed address, he had given a pledge upon the subject of the house and window taxes. He could not, therefore, impugn the practice of pledges. If he (Colonel Evans) were to be asked whether, if the Russians were to take Constantinople, or if the French were to march an army to the Pyrenees, he would pledge himself to vote for war, he should say that he would not, the subject being mixed up with so many different circumstances as to require great consideration. But these now put to him were great questions, which had agitated the country for years; and without meaning any offence to the hon. candidate, he would say that any gentleman who had not made up his mind upon these questions was unfit to represent them. He must confess, however, that he did think that the hon. candidate had made up his mind, and that he could tell it if he liked.

Mr. WAKLEY said, that if the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Escott) had not made up his mind to vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act, he could not represent them, because they had made up their minds. "All those (continued he, addressing the crowd) who are for the repeal of the Septennial Act, hold up your hands (all). All who are for the repeal of the corn-laws, hold up your hands." He was not the man for them; he liked his candour, and he lined him for a Tory; but he remembered the conduct of the Tories—of the cut-throat, Castlereagh. (Cries of shame, shame). He did not mean to allude to the last act of that unfortunate man's life, but to his disposition to cut the throats of other people. He despised the whole of the Tory gang from the bottom of his heart. But never more would they have the opportunity of grinding the people to the earth. He had the authority of Sir John Cam Hobhouse himself for saying that the Whigs had done all they could to oust the Tories, merely for the purpose of serving themselves, and then betraying the interests of the people. (Loud cheers). But they should withhold their indignation and not look to the conduct of parties, but at the conduct of the man who had been their representative. He would bring to their notice a letter which had escaped from the pen of the right hon. Baronet on Wednesday morning last. The question of the house and window taxes having been brought before the House on Tuesday, one of their representatives had voted directly against them, and the other had resigned after having deserted his duty, in the fullest hope that they would send him back to deceive them again. (Cheers). Suppose the right hon. Baronet was about to wed a damsel, and when she was at the altar, he slipped a note into her hand, saying he was sorry, but he had found that there was something more to be done after, and as he was not in a condition to do it then, he would resign all pretensions to her. (Long and continued laughter). The right hon. Baronet had,

in effect, said, "I love you still, but there are others I love better." Great stress had been laid upon the fact of his giving up office, but he would ask, who was nurse to the Irish secretary? Why, Daniel O'Connell! But that same Daniel O'Connell had got an ugly way of making the bed with nettles. If Sir John had gone to Ireland, he would, in forty-eight hours, have been so hot, he would have thought himself in the East Indies, and so stung that he would have been put much in mind of mosquitoes. He had a large fortune, and was not in want of the five thousand pounds, so where was the great merit in his resignation of such an office. In his (Mr. Wakley's) opinion, he was most heartily glad to have had such an opportunity of getting quietly out of it. Sir John's own published former opinions were, that the people were entitled to full, fair, and free representation in Parliament. Now, what had the Reform Bill done in Westminster? Why, reduced the constituency from 14,000 to less than 9,000; and where was the name of Sir John in the list, on Mr. Grote's motion for the ballot? Why, in the majority against it. The reformed Parliament had done one good action by voting for the repeal of the malt tax, yet that vote they had rescinded in less than three days. Now, he would just give them a representation of what might have taken place in the Privy Council the morning after the vote with respect to the malt tax was come to. Lord Althorp comes in and says, "Here's a pretty kettle of fish we're in; we are taken by surprise, for these chaps have voted directly against us; what shall we do? We must have that vote rescinded, because it was for the benefit of the working people." Sir John then gets up, and says, "Oh, my Lord, it's very well for you to talk in that way, but I am pledged. (Loud laughter). I'll tell you what, my Lord, if you determine on rescinding that vote, I must either throw up my secretaryship or resign my seat." "Well," (says Lord Althorp), "we can get somebody else to take your office, and if you resign your seat, we must look out for somebody to stand for Westminster." "But (says Mr. Hobhouse) look how I shall be disgraced." (Laughter). "Oh, never mind that (says Lord Althorp), we are all disgraced in turn, you know (continued laughter); but there is one thing, if we are disgraced, it is not without sauce, for we have got 6,000*l.* a year for it. (Laughter, and cheers). Give up your secretaryship, and resign your seat, for you will soon get it again." "Very well, (says Hobhouse), don't you decide anything till I see you again." Away goes Hobhouse to Mr. De Veau, and having ascertained from that diligent and very active man that by a little trickery it would all succeed, Sir John posts off to my Lord Althorp, and says, "It will be all safe—De Veau promises I shall be elected. He says there is no doubt about it, and, therefore to-night I won't vote—I will cut my stick. (Great laughter). To-

morrow I will write a little note, saying I have resigned my seat, because I could not fulfil my promises, and that I have also resigned the secretaryship for Ireland." (Laughter). He (Mr. Wakley) had once been a great supporter of Sir John's, but he was compelled to state, that he had forfeited all his confidence, and that he had committed a most disgraceful breach of trust. (Loud and continued cheers). He begged of the electors to consider the whole of England was looking with the most intense interest to what would be the result of this contest. Whig, Tory, and Radical, were now before them, and he begged of them to recollect what the conduct of the Tories had been from the first hour that they held the reins of Government. It was the people and not the Ministers, who succeeded in carrying the Reform Bill—it was the people who replaced the Ministers in their office to discharge a sacred duty, and would they be so forgetful of what was due to their children and their families, as in the hour of triumph, in the very moment of victory, to wither the laurel on which they had so long delighted to look. (Cheers). He would call upon them not to be deceived in the reformed Parliament—not to be deceived by Factory Bills, for the House of Commons had actually sent a commission to inquire whether children could work four-and-twenty hours in four-and-twenty hours. (Laughter). If the expenditure was managed economically, the man who now worked twelve hours would only have to work four, but the aristocracy were everlastingly praising that which they never practised—he meant *labour*. (Loud cheering). Why, if labour was so very good for the poor, why the d—l was it not as good for the rich? (Loud cheering). In conclusion, he trusted that the electors of Westminster would prove themselves the friends of their country by electing Colonel Evans.

The deputy returning officer then called for a show of hands—and not a single hand was held up for Sir John Hobhouse—a complete forest appeared for Colonel Evans—and not more than twenty for Mr. Escott. The deputy returning officer then declared the show of hands to be in favour of Colonel Evans. A poll was demanded on the part of Sir John Hobhouse and Mr. Escott, which was appointed to commence to-morrow, at nine o'clock in the morning.

The assembled crowd then separated peaceably.

During the ceremony of the nomination, when Sir John Hobhouse quitted the hustings, he returned to his committee-room, surrounded by some of the most distinguished reformers in Westminster. Among them we particularly distinguished Thomas Duncombe, Edward Lytton Bulwer, Paul Methuen, Esqrs., Lord Ebrington, Mr. Carlton, Mr. Lamont, Mr. E. B. Clive, Mr. E. G. Stanley, &c. &c. On his arrival in the rooms, he was heartily greeted by his friends. He expressed in warm terms his regret that he had been prevented from

replying to the base accusations his opponents continued to make against him. He stated emphatically that he was most completely out of office, and had been so from his first announcement; that he had no intention to return to it; that he never would unless he was convinced, and his friends the electors also, that he could do more good to the public in the King's Government than out of it. (Cheers). He had intended always to vote against the continuance of the house and window taxes—it was well known to Ministers on his taking office—that was no secret. (Applause). He should most certainly have done so had it not been so mixed up with other matters as to place him in a more painful situation than any other public man. He knew he felt that he had taken the honest, the conscientious course. (Cheers). He hoped and trusted that the electors would do him justice, at least as to his motives; and then let the result be what it might (and he, for his part, did not doubt it), at least he was certain it would sooner or later be admitted that he deserved to share the confidence of those patriotic citizens with whom, under the banner of reform, he had continued to fight until they had planted it on the summit of the mount. (Great cheering).

Mr. Fearon, Lord Ebrington, and other gentlemen strongly deprecated the ungenerous conduct of part of the assemblage before the hustings, in refusing to hear a defence while they heard a charge. And a resolution was passed by acclamation, applauding Sir John Hobhouse's compliance with the earnest solicitation of his friends in quitting the hustings on that occasion.

A resolution was also passed with great applause, to redouble their exertions to place Sir John Hobhouse triumphantly at the head of the poll, to which they now most confidently appeal.

Three cheers were given for their candidate, and the committee separated for an hour.

Close of the first day's poll :

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Evans | 1026 |
| Hobhouse | 779 |
| Escott | 494 |

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

(Continued from p. 181, No. 3.)

"Indeed, a camp meeting is an excellent place for all sorts of business. It is a point of union for all the loungers and young people; for those who have bargains to make or to conclude, and for the candidates who mean to 'electioneer' (a word which you have not

"in French, but which you will be obliged to adopt whenever you have a government really free); every one minds his business, sleeps, eats, makes love, cheapens a horse, deprecates or exalts a candidate. The holy place is deserted; silence for the first time reigns around the pulpit; the full moon, though in her mid career, is veiled by a passing cloud, and everything seems to invite to repose and to a suspension of the labours of the day; when—a preacher who has remained alone kneeling within the pulpit, rises up slowly; inspiration begins to visit him; he begins a hymn at first with a very feeble voice, but which, *crescendo* by degrees, soon attains the melody of Stentor. Some pious souls retake their places upon the seats, other preachers join him, and curiosity soon reproduces an auditory. An enthusiastic and pathetic prayer follows: he engages the saints to pray for the conversion of the poor sinners who are in the midst of them; he presents to them the greatness of God's mercy, and the pains of hell; he exhorts them to lay aside false shame, and make a clear breast before their brethren. Five or six persons rise up, and advance slowly towards the *sanctum sanctorum*. At the sight of so many converts, the possessed saint becomes doubly heated: he deputes two saints to pray with each of them. The new convert kneeling upon the straw, sighs, accuses himself, sobs, and cries; whilst on each side a saint, kneeling beside him, vociferates in his ear a description, after his manner, of the glory of God, and the wickedness of Satan. These eighteen or twenty persons, men and women, in the pen, make a clutter that may be heard for some miles; everybody bawls, sings, prays, cries, preaches, together. . . . The owls, attracted by the odour of the kitchens, answer them from the tops of the trees, and fly away from this noise, which they cannot emulate. A young girl in the meantime had wandered in the woods longer with her lover than she supposed; time passes

"swiftly in the company of a beloved
 "object, perhaps for the first time, and
 "in the spring of life, dreaming of ages
 "of happiness in a cherished union,
 "tasting perhaps its reality in passionate
 "declarations ; . . . suddenly she is re-
 "called to her senses by this clutter,
 "her spirits still agitated, her soul in a
 "strange state of emotion, her nerves
 "stunned and shaken. She approaches,
 "is troubled, fright seizes her ; at first
 "she believes herself damned — then
 "converted—she enters within the sa-
 "cred enclosure, there she is soon
 "stunned and seized with hysteric con-
 "vulsions ; she cries out, weeps, sobs,
 "rolls herself on the straw in a fright-
 "ful delirium. The assistants, the
 "preachers, and the saints, redouble
 "their vociferations, the people cry
 "Amen ! The clutter and tumult in-
 "crease : a conversion so sincere, so
 "exemplary, must not be hidden by the
 "shades of night ; torches of pitch-pine,
 "gathered from the neighbourhood, are
 "soon brought, and cast a vivid light
 "upon this scene of horror. The mother,
 "the sisters, of the young girl, run
 "thither on hearing the noise ; but in-
 "stead of helping her, admire the mercy
 "of God, who is pleased to call her
 "among his saints. They join their
 "voices to those of the people, and do
 "not convey her into their cabin until
 "she has become quite insensible. The
 "following day she believes herself to
 "be a saint, and no more subject to
 "sin, whatever she may do. Further.
 "she will give her experience, as it is
 "called, for the edification of the com-
 "munity, and relates in public, by what
 "winding paths the Lord has been
 "pleased to conduct her to himself, and
 "exhorts others to follow her example.
 "And such is the power of imitation on
 "the nerves, that it rarely happens that
 "a conversion of this sort takes place
 "without some other persons falling in-
 "to hysterics also. Frequently, twenty
 "persons, of every age, sex, and colour,
 "roll themselves together pell-mell
 "upon the straw, with haggard eyes
 "and foaming mouths, in the midst of
 "the saints, who pray, sing, sob, and cry
 "with joy, to see so signal a triumph ob-

"tained over Satan. Methodism equa-
 "lizes everything ; so that you may see
 "an old negress preaching to her master,
 "a negro praying by his young mistress.
 "You think I am joking, that I am
 "speaking to you of the farces of Saint
 "Medard, which made so much noise
 "in the time of Voltaire ; but what
 "will you say when you know that,
 "among a people eminently reason-
 "able, this sect is the most diffused,
 "and reckons three times as many
 "members as any other ? It augments
 "every day, and will, probably, in a few
 "years, be the only religion among the
 "ignorant classes of the people."

The story seems marvellous. It tal-
 lies, however, so well with what we
 have witnessed in America, that we can
 see nothing in it to disbelieve M. MU-
 RAT's last fact ; and the anticipations ac-
 companying it, are curious, as showing
 how little the "*liberals*" have been able
 to effect in shortening the ears of the
 Americans. "Ignorant ?" And which
 is the *knowing* nation ? Why, the Eng-
 lish, no doubt ; who have not only got
 an "Every man his own Grazier," an
 "Everyman his own Farrier," an "Every
 man his own Lawyer," and an "Every
 man his own Physician," but who now
 only wait for the MS. from the Useful
 Knowledge Society, to have a neat little
 manual of improved mysteries under the
 title of "*Every man his own Doctor of
 Divinity*." And truly a great desidera-
 tum, which was all at once to open the
 eyes of a whole nation to a clear sight
 into a science that the most clever and
 deeply learned have confessed their
 inability to explain.

"Thirty years ago," says M. MURAT,
 "Thomas Paine was all but stoned for
 "advocating doctrines which are now
 "propagated by five or six papers in the
 "United States. There is certainly an
 "improvement." We really do not un-
 derstand whether M. MURAT is serious
 or joking in calling this an *improvement*.
 It is certain that the author of the "*Age
 of Reason*" was buried in America, like
 a dog in the corner of a field, no church
 or Quaker congregation being willing to
 let him be interred in their burying-
 ground. And though M. MURAT speaks

of improvement at this time, we remember hearing it asserted by American lawyers, no longer ago than the year 1821, that the publication of such books as PAINÉ's was against the common law of America. An American judge having seen PALMER's "*Principles of Nature*," exposed for sale, told the bookseller that he was liable to a criminal prosecution; whence the question arose; and the opinion of the lawyers was on the ground that such works were *contra bonos mores*, as the law terms it, that is, tending to do injury to the morals of the people. The prosecutions of this kind which, up to nearly the present day, have taken place in England, have not been dictated by political wisdom, anxious for the good of public morality. They have been government acts of vengeance upon the attackers of its corruptions. If PAINÉ was answered by Bishop WATSON, the discussions should have dropped there; that would have been the best policy. But the Bishop, unfortunately, did not fight PAINÉ with the infidel's own weapons; was not satisfied to stop at the first page of his book, which any merely reasonable man might have done in refuting him; but he seems rather to have recognised PAINÉ as a brother professor of theology, actually complimenting him, as he does, upon the "*sublime ideas*" contained in his book. And what has been the result of the law proceedings against CARLILE and other publishers of the book? If the intended object were to create disgust against the works they published, how far have the prosecutions succeeded? Have they not merely placed PAINÉ's *Age of Reason*, &c. on a footing along with the writings of VOLTAIRE and other infidels, whose books, impugning Christianity, have all along been left wide open for every man, woman, and child, to read?

Connected with church reform, come the objections to taking *oaths*, and the emancipation of the Jews, who have been so much persecuted as to be amongst the richest people in the country! In the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 21. of March, there is the following report of a proceeding in the House of Commons.

"Mr. GROTE presented a petition

"from a number of persons, called "*Separatists*, stating that they entertained a *religious scruple* on the subject of oaths, and praying to be put on the same footing in that respect as Quakers. The hon. Gentleman expressed his satisfaction that the hon. Member for Cambridge was about to introduce a bill to relieve *all sects* from the *inabilities* under which they at present laboured from similar scruples.

"Mr. O'CONNELL supported the prayer of the petition, and said he knew of an actual denial of justice arising from the *conscientious* refusal of an individual to take an oath. In an important case, an insurance office actually lost a large sum of money, for want of the evidence of a man who could not be induced to take an oath. That fact alone showed that the abstract principle on which oaths were insisted upon was erroneous, and ought to be relinquished.

"Mr. MURRAY supported the petition.

"Mr. HUME said he hoped the day would arrive when the legislature would wipe off the stain of *iliberality* by which persons who, from *religious scruples*, declined to take an oath, were refused the exercise of some of the most valuable civil rights. It was *hard* that a man's morality should be impeached simply because he was *conscientious*. As the law stood, a man who was conscientious declined to take an oath, and that man's evidence was rejected, while a man who was not conscientious, took an oath without hesitation, and his evidence was accepted.

"Sir F. BURDETT also supported the prayer of the petition."

(To be continued.)

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any

quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHARMAN, J., Birmingham, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BADGER, E., Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorgan-shire, currier.

CATES, E., Brydges-street, Covent-garden, hotel-keeper.

JOHNSON, G. B., High-street, Wapping, corn-merchant.

MASSEY, P., Longsight, Lancashire, coach-proprietor.

MOORS, W., Ludworth, Derbyshire, cotton-manufacturer.

PEACOCK, H., Leather-lane, dealer in potatoes.

PELHAM, J. C., Shad-Thames, Horslydown, wharfinger.

ROBINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland, woollen-manufacturers.

STUBLEY, W. G., Castle street, Southwark, hat-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

BOND, P., Worcester, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ATWOOD, W., Lewes, Sussex, watch-maker.
BRIDGE, W., jun., and **J. Staudring**, Manchester, timber-merchants.

DICKINSON, W., Ewer-street, Southwark, hair-manufacturer.

JONES, R., Bridge-street, Southwark, hat-leather-cutter.

LEE, W., Custom-house, commission-agent.

MARSTON, J., Market-Rasen, Lincolnshire, surgeon.

MARTIN, S. and J., Cheltenham and Bath, silversmiths.

RADCLIFFE, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

ROBERTS, E., Tyn-y-Coed, Carnarvonshire, pig-drover.

ROUTLEDGE, T., Shrewsbury, Shropshire, scrivener.

SAUNDERS, J., Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, nurseryman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BURNS, J. and Co., Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, chymists.

STRACHAN, J., Inverkeithing, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 6.—The supplies of Wheat from Kent were very limited, and from Essex and Suffolk, though still moderate, were rather larger than last week. The millers in the early part of the morning took off some of the best parcels of Wheat at the currency of last Monday, whilst cold and inferior samples met with little attention. Towards the close, however, of the market the demand fell off, and, except the finest lots, all descriptions might have been purchased on lower terms, and the general aspect of the trade dull. Old Wheats sustained no alteration in value, and for bonded descriptions the inquiry was very limited.

The weather having set in extremely warm, has induced most of the principal maltsters to draw their business to a conclusion. Bright malting parcels of Barley were, in consequence, 1s. cheaper, and stained and secondary descriptions, extremely dull at this decline; distilling and grinding descriptions sustained the same reduction, with a dull sale.

The Malt trade very heavy, and all inferior qualities nearly unsalable.

Oats experienced a fair demand, and maintained the currency of this day week.

Beans were in request, and realized 1s. more money than last Monday.

The stock of Peas being extremely limited, and the supplies short, prices were fully maintained, and maple obtained rather more money.

Flour extremely dull at former prices.

P.S.—We have just learned that Beaumont and Berry, the millers, have failed to some extent, and the Flour trade was additionally dull.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 54s. to 61s. |
| Rye | 32s. to 34s. |
| Barley | 21s. to 23s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 31s. |
| Peas, White | 30s. to 32s. |
| — Boilers | 36s. to —s. |
| — Grey | 28s. to 29s. |
| Beans, Small | —s. to —s. |
| — Tick | 27s. to 29s. |
| Oats, Potato | 22s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 14s. to 18s. |
| Flour, per sack | 48s. to 50s. |

PROVISIONS.

| |
|--|
| Bacon, Middles, new, 36s. to 38s. per cwt. |
| — Sides, new ... 36s. to 38s. |
| Pork, India, new ... 115s. to —s. |
| — Mess, new ... 65s. to —s. per barl. |
| Butter, Belfast ... 64s. to 68s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow ... 62s. to 70s. |
| — Cork ... 63s. to 70s. |
| — Limerick ... —s. to —s. |
| — Waterford ... 48s. to 58s. |
| — Dublin ... 50s. to 54s. |
| Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 72s. |
| — Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 56s. |
| — Gloucester, Single ... 46s. to 50s. |
| — Edam ... 40s. to 50s. |
| — Gouda ... 40s. to 50s. |
| Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s. |

SMITHFIELD.—May 6.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was moderately good; the supply of fat Calves and Porkers rather limited. The trade was, with each kind of meat, unusually dull, at exceedingly little, if any, variation from Friday's quotations.

About three-eighths of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, principally the former; about two-eighths short-horns; one-eighth Devons; and an eighth Welsh runts, chiefly, (say about 1,900 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western and midland districts; about 60 Herefords, as many Irish, and about 40 Sussex beasts; a few Staffords, &c. from various quarters; and about 100 Town's-end Cows.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c. About two-fifths of the Lambs appeared to be new Leicesters, of the different crosses, and the remaining three-fifths, for the most part, about equal numbers of Dorsets, and West Sussex South Downs.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 10.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, with the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. | } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| Cons. Ann. | | 87½ | 87½ | 87½ | — | 87 | 87 |

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